National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXV. NO. 29. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1864. WHOLE NO. 1,277.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY
AT $2 50 PER ANNUM,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
5 *South-Fifth Street, Philadelphia.*

LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor of The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

MR. LINCOLN'S NEGRO EXPERIMENT.

From the World.

THE time has come when the principal and most characteristic act of Mr. Lincoln's Administration may be discussed not merely with reference to its constitutionality but its *success*. It is a measure which nothing but success can vindicate, for the only plea ever urged in its defence was its necessity. Its advocates argued that because it was necessary therefore it was constitutional. The argument was, that *war* is constitutional, and that emancipation, being necessary to the success of the war, was constitutional also. This logic, intrinsically absurd, is put to shame by the progress of events. A measure which, after full trial, has not helped forward the war, could not have been *necessary*. Nothing has been accomplished by the Emancipation proclamation which could not have been equally accomplished without it. As a *threat* it caused no alarm to the rebels; as an *invitation* it had no perceptible effect on the slaves. As a *fact* the publication of the Emancipation edict was of great service to the rebel cause. It was a letter of credence from Mr. Lincoln to the Southern people in favor of the rebel leaders, attesting the sagacity of their predictions, and establishing the soundness of the opinion on which they had urged the necessity of separation. When the Southern States seceded, their people were far from unanimous. They gave some credit to the solemn disclaimers of the Republican leaders when charged with abolition intentions. The Emancipation proclamation proved that the charges were true, and the disclaimers hypocritical; in other words, it proved to the Southern people that the secessionists had correctly represented the character and designs of the Republican party. To the Southern people the proclamation was a complete vindication of the foresight and wisdom of Mr. Davis and his associates; a decisive demonstration that the secession movement did not proceed on a false assumption.

It is not our purpose, however, to insist on the service rendered by the proclamation to the rebel cause. The point we make is, that its want of success, by proving that it was not necessary, overturns the only argument ever urged in its defense. It was pretended that it would arrest cultivation in the South, and so cut off the subsistence of the rebel armies. It was also pretended that, by the alarm it would create, it would deplete the Southern armies by compelling white men to return to the plantations to stand guard over the negroes. None of these consequences have followed. The Emancipation proclamation neither emancipated the slaves, nor alarmed their owners, nor arrested labor on the plantations, nor withdrew a single white soldier from the rebel armies. A measure which accomplished none of its proposed objects clearly was not *necessary*.

The only thing that anybody has of late pretended to say in its defense, is, that it has added soldiers to the Union army. Even this is not true; for just as many slaves would have run away to our lines, and we could have made just the same use of them, had no proclamation been made. But the negro-soldier experiment was not less a blunder than the proclamation. Both inure to the benefit of the rebels. The one consolidated Southern sentiment; the other has taught the rebels the use of a weapon of which they can command six or eight to our one. The availability of the negroes for military purposes is an experiment of which we incurred the risk, and the rebels will reap the advantage. They would, of course, prefer independence without losing their slaves; but with the Emancipation proclamation hanging over them, they see that slavery without independence is impossible; and they are prepared, whenever it is necessary, to throw overboard a part of the cargo to save the ship. If the ship sinks, the cargo will of course go down with it; with Lincoln as President, if the rebels lose their cause they lose their slaves also. We have taught them that negroes make indifferent soldiers, and they profit by the lesson. The sentiment of attachment and fidelity, which is strong in the negro-breast, the love of home, the recollections of childhood, will cause them to fight better on the Southern than on the Northern side. The Southern government offers them their liberty and a homestead; ours, liberty and starvation. When the South brings three or five hundred thousand negroes into the field, how are we to confront them? Not by negro soldiers, for we cannot procure them; every negro put into the field by the South will cause an additional white man to be drafted in the North. The upshot of Mr. Lincoln's negro experiment, then, will be to tear from their homes hundreds of thousands of Northern citizens who might else have pursued their peaceful vocations amid the comforts of home and the endearments of their families.

WINTER FOR THE DARKEY.

From the N. Y. Sunday Mercury.

Now that Cuffy is free, it is high time for him to look out for the cold snap. Jack Frost has had from time immemorial a dislike of wool, and the long-heels of our African countrymen must be either shod or frostbitten. There is no Massa at present to dole out corn-meal to him, give him back-logs for his cabin-fire, blue drilling for his wife Cloe and the piccaninnies, hide-boots to track coons and muskrats in, or pocket-money to resin up the fiddle-bow or string the patriarchal banjo. There will be little music this season for the hoe-down, though the contraband must pat "juber" to warm his fingers' ends. The regular Whitsuntide and Christmas sprees have enlarged to a whole year of liberty; but do Pete and Sambo feel the exultation of that ancient lark, when they crowded around the court house in the county-town for a week—and often got to jail for a month? Alas! freedom has its responsibilities. Old Virginny is mighty bleak and inhospitable now; Maryland has given up the slow and dozy, but very dear, old "institution." There will be no more white babies dandled to the tune of the snuffy old negro nurse, nor any tears dropping from the rheumatic "property" upon the new-made grave of "pore ole Missus." Glad as we all are that the stain of slavery is passing from our escutcheon, let us own that it had its tendernesses. Doubtless, the African will wake to new energy and a more vital civilization since his bonds are stricken off, but will he not often, like that old captive of the Bastile, pine for his familiar dungeon-bars again? This is a practical century, which has no reverence; but the time will come when the slave shall go into poetry for his virtues as a slave, and the master into history for his kindness as a master. No defence of them we make; that is past! Better let the spirit of our time sweep on, regardless of these at best trifling benefits, to the more manly spectacle of a great race made free, and lifted, as at a spellword, into our human brotherhood. But for the present the negro has a pinched and sorry fate. He must weather many biting seasons, hopeful of a happy future, if not for himself, for his children! He must needs often recall the clam-bakes of his infancy, the "pertracted meetins" of his maturer years, his frequent conversions to glory and subsequent backslidings, the cozy hours of his decline in the brick-floored kitchen, with the blazing fireplace, in whose andirons he could see the whites of his eyes, and upon whose chimney "jamb" glimmered the consoling black jug; let him forget those years of captivity and indolence, and rouse up to the consciousness that real life is not made up of wallowing in the sunshine or observations on ham-fat, but of wrestling with toil, for the patience and hardihood it gives, and the intelligent independence that makes of the world a sort of miniature "hebben."

HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

From the New York Daily News.

THE political immorality which has resulted in that bastard Black Republican Federalism, the so-called "War *Democracy*," finds a counterpart in the want among large masses of the public, of all religious principle. Mr. Lincoln we have seen ordering thanksgivings to the Father of Truth for victories that were official lies. Mr. Seward we have seen following the example of War Beecher, by making his audience laugh with *jeu d'esprit* from the Divine Word, and Andy Johnson we have known to declare himself, to a dark crowd assembled around the steps of the Capitol at Nashville, a "nigger" Moses! This desecration of holy things is a radicalism which, however much it may be regretted in those cases, cannot surprise any one when it comes from Mr. Lincoln or Andy Johnson, but it will certainly not only surprise but disgust many when it comes from the Attic lips of Mr. Edward Everett. A gentleman, a scholar, a man of taste, feeling, decency, and conservatism, as he has always been held to be, we are indignant that he should have sought popular applause by following the example of a base and dangerous radicalism in declaring, as he did recently, when speaking at Boston of the sailors who sank the Alabama: "These heroes did the Lord's work on the Lord's day!" "But, Captain Winslow and his men," he went on to say, "were able to use the words of Paul to those skillful Britons: 'And yet show I unto you a more excellent way.'" "A full man," as Lord Bacon would probably consider Mr. Everett, he surely can find some apt quotations in the course of his reading—as for example, Homer, Horace, Shakspeare, Goethe; and, if he will economise, his own lamp-smelling periods may do; so by drawing on those rather than by passages of Scripture that, as the wit said of the monkies, are, when used in popular speaking generally, "far fetched and good for nothing," save only so far as they become subjects of jibe and laughter. Mr. Everett the country cannot afford, even though he persist in degrading himself with treason to his political antecedents, to descend in public decency so very low as the level of the brawling demagogues that follow in the footsteps of such men as Cheever, Cuyler and War Beecher.

Selections.

GEN. BUTLER PROPOSES AN AMNESTY.

[Extract from Major-Gen. Butler's speech at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, Nov. 14th.]

Now, then, what is the duty of the government in the present future. War cannot last always. The history of nations shows—the experience of the world demonstrates—that war must come to an end. But how? In what way? A war such as this, prosecuted for the purpose of breaking down the power of those opposed to the government and bringing them under the supremacy of its laws, must be terminated either by reconciliation or subjugation. In view, therefore, of the unanimity of the American people, in view of the strength, the majesty, the might of the nation, may it not be suggested that now is the time to hold out to the deluded people of the South the olive branch of peace, and say to them, "Come back, come back, and leave off feeding on husks, and share with us the fat of the land, and bygones shall be bygones; if bygones are bygones, in one country and under one law we will live in peace hereafter" (cheers). Are we not able to offer them this now? Are we not strong enough? Do we not stand firmly, with unanimity of sentiment enough to offer peace to all, if all will submit to the laws? There might have been some complaint I think among a proud and chivalrous people, that they would not desert their leaders, by taking advantage of the amnesty proclamation of President Lincoln. But now when we come to them and say, "Come back and you shall find the laws the same, save so far as they have been altered by the legislative wisdom of the land—both for leaders and followers"—can there be any excuse for either if they rebelliously remain in contempt of the authority of the government? Are we not in a condition now, not taking counsel from our fears or from our weakness, but of our strength and magnanimity, again to make such offers of peace and amity in the most beneficent terms, but for the last time? By so doing shall we not, in the eyes of the world, "have exhausted all the resources of statesmanship in an effort to restore peace to the country"? (Applause.) Who shall hinder them from returning? And if they will not come back, who shall complain? Let us not permit the rebel, after he has fought as long as he can, and then, if he chooses, to come back; let us state some time, perhaps the 8th of January—for the association will be as good as any—for all to lay down their arms and submit to the laws; and when that hour has passed, to every man who shall scout the proffered amnesty of a great and powerful nation, speaking in love, in charity, in kindness, in hope of peace and quiet forever to its rebellious sons, I say then let us meet him or them with sharp, quick, decisive war, which shall bring the rebellion to an end forever by the extinguishment of such men, wherever they may be found (applause). How is that to be done? Blood and treasure have been poured out without stint or measure, until taking advantage of the supposed depletion of treasure, bad men had banded together by speculating in gold, which ought to be the circulating medium, have raised upon the price of the coals upon every poor man's hearth, and the price of the bread upon every poor man's table. Let the government take some measure to stop this unholy traffic, and let it be understood that the policy of the government will be hereafter to pay no more bounties for the recruitment of soldiers from the taxes of the loyal North; but, taking counsel from the Roman method of carrying on war, to say to our young men, "Look to the fair fields of the sunny South; they have refused our amnesty and offers of peace; they have turned away the day of grace. Go down there in arms in support of the government, extinguish the rebellion, and you shall have what you conquer, in a fair division of the lands to each man in pay for his military service. We will open new land offices wherever our armies march, dividing the lands of the rebellious States among our soldiers, to be theirs and their heirs' forever" (applause). A harsh measure, it may be said. But is it not quite as just as to tax ourselves, and thus raise the price of the necessaries of life for the purpose of giving bounty to and supporting the soldier in fighting those rebellious men whom we have three times over solemnly called to come and enjoy with us the blessings of our liberties and be friends—saying, in 1862, come in June; in 1863, come in December; in 1864, come by the 8th of January, 1865. When the clock strikes the last knell of that parting day, then all hope to those who have not made progress to return should be cut off forever and ever. No longer should they be permitted to live on the land, or even within the boundaries of the United States. Let them go to Mexico, the islands of the sea, or some place that I care not to name, because I know no land bad enough to be cursed with their presence, but never to live here again (cheers). I look, therefore, with some considerable interest upon what I believe to be the present results of this election. I believe, sir, first, that we have settled by it the war by settling the question that the people are determined to carry on the war to the bitter end, unless we have submission to the laws. I think it has always been claimed that we should be strong enough after a great victory to offer to the rebels new terms of peace. I never expect to see in arms or in civil affairs a greater victory than the one we have just achieved; and I think we are now strong enough to make that offer with due regard to our interest, our dignity and our honor as a nation (applause). I take it that the most squeamish of all the friends of the country will agree with us when they find that in truth we have "exhausted every resource of statesmanship" in attempting to obtain peace by an offer of amnesty and forgetfulness of the past, limited only by a submission to the laws. We will then be ready to make war—aye, war to the hilt—and such war as should be made to decide the fate of a great nation. Therefore, while asking pardon for trespassing too long upon the festivities of this occasion, keeping the ladies in waiting, in answer to what you were kind enough to suggest, I look upon this victory as one which has decided the war—decided it, if not in a military point of view, yet overwhelmingly as a civil victory, which, after all, decides the fate of nations everywhere. To this it may be answered, and to that answer I take leave for a moment to call your attention, so that every one may work out the problem in his own mind much more clearly than any suggestions of mine could do, if we carry on the war with the strength and stringency which I have suggested—how shall we ever live in the same land with the men with whom we thus fight? Let us go to the teachings of history, and draw from the history of that land which we were once proud to own as the mother country. Every considerable estate in England, in the wars under Cromwell, passed through the courts or commissions of confiscation; every considerable household fought against every other considerable household; the people fought against the nobles, and the nobles against the people. And yet, when the king came to his own again, the nation came together, cemented in friendship, never to be thereafter divided. Is there any difficulty then, looking at the teachings of the history of the Anglo-Saxon, to know how to live in quiet and peace, aye, in amity and friendship, with those with whom we have been fighting? Is it not a well known rule of social action, that those with whom we have fought bitterly, after the fight is over are more ready than ever to be taken by the hand? They are more endeared to us after a fair fight, and we are more ready to respect both them and their rights. Therefore, I see no difficulty in every good man of the South and every good man of the North coming together—to let bygones be bygones.

REBEL TALK OF ARMING THE SLAVES.

VIEWS OF THE REBEL PRESIDENT.

[Extract from his Message.]

THE employment of slaves for service with the army as teamsters, or cooks, or in the way of work upon fortifications, or in the government workshops, or in hospitals, and other similar duties, was authorized by the act of 17th February last, and provision was made for their impressment to a number not exceeding twenty thousand, if it should be found impracticable to obtain them by contract with the owners. The law contemplated the hiring only of the labor of these slaves, and imposed on the government the liability to pay for the value of such as might be lost to the owners from casualties resulting from their employment in the service.

This act has produced less result than was anticipated, and further provision is required to render it efficacious. But my present purpose is to invite your consideration to the propriety of a radical modification in the theory of the law.

Viewed merely as property, and therefore as the subject of imprisonment, the service or labor of the slave has been frequently claimed, for short periods, in the construction of defensive works. The slave, however, bears another relation to the State, that of a person. The law of last February contemplates the relation of the slave to the master, and limits the impressment to a certain term of service. But for the purposes enumerated in the act, instruction in the manner of encamping, marching and parking trains, is needful, so that even in this limited employment, length of service adds greatly to the value of the negro's labor. Hazard is also encountered in all the positions to which the negroes can be assigned for service with the army, and the duties required of them demand loyalty and zeal.

In this aspect the relation of person predominates so far as to render it doubtful whether the private right of property can consistently and beneficially be continued, and it would seem proper to acquire for the public service the entire property in the labor of the slave, and to pay therefor due compensation, rather than to impress his labor for short terms; and this the more especially as the effect of the present law would vest this entire property in all cases where the slave might be recaptured after compensation for his loss had been paid to the private owner. Whenever the entire property in the service of a slave is thus acquired by the government, the question is presented, by what tenure he should be held. Should he be retained in servitude, or should his emancipation be held out to him as a reward for faithful service, or should it be granted at once on the promise of such service; and if emancipated, what action should be taken to secure for the freedman the permission of the State from which he was drawn to reside within its limits after the close of his public service. The permission would doubtless be more readily accorded as a reward for past faithful service; and a double motive for zealous discharge of duty would thus be offered to those employed by the government, their freedom, and the gratification of the local attachment which is so marked a characteristic of the negro, and forms so powerful an incentive to his action. The policy of engaging to liberate the negro on his discharge after service faithfully rendered, seems to me preferable to that of granting immediate manumission, or that of retaining him in servitude. If this policy should recommend itself to the judgment of Congress, it is suggested that, in addition to the duties heretofore performed by the slave, he might be advantageously employed as a pioneer and engineer laborer; and in that event, that the number should be augmented to forty thousand.

Beyond this limit and these employments it does not seem to me desirable, under existing circumstances, to go. A broad moral distinction exists between the use of slaves as soldiers in the defence of our homes and the incitement of the same persons to insurrection against their masters. The one is justifiable if necessary, the other is iniquitous and unworthy of a civilized people; and such is the judgment of all writers on public law, as well as that expressed and insisted on by our enemies in all wars prior to that now waged against us. By none have the practices of which they are now guilty been denounced with greater severity than by themselves in the two wars with Great Britain in the last and in the present century; and in the Declaration of Independence of 1776, when enumeration was made of the wrongs which justified the revolt from Great Britain, the climax of atrocity was deemed to be reached only when the English monarch was denounced as having "excited domestic insurrection among us."

The subject is to be viewed by us, therefore, solely in the light of policy and our social economy. When so regarded, I must dissent from those who advise a general levy and arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers. Until our white population shall prove insufficient for the armies we require and can afford to keep in the field, to employ as a soldier the negro who has merely been trained to labor, and as a laborer the white man accustomed from his youth to the use of fire-arms, would scarcely be deemed wise or advantageous by any; and this is the question now before us. But should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation or of the employment of the slave as a soldier, there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision. Whether our view embraces what would, in so extreme a case, be the sum of misery entailed by the dominion of the enemy, or be restricted solely to the effect upon the welfare and happiness of the negro population themselves, the result would be the same. The appalling demoralization, suffering, disease and death which have been caused by partially substituting the invaders' system of police, for the kind relation previously subsisting between the master and slave, have been a sufficient demonstration that external interference with our institution of domestic slavery is productive of evil only.

If the subject involved no other consideration than the mere right of property, the sacrifices heretofore made by our people have been such as to permit no doubt of their readiness to surrender every possession in order to secure their independence. But the social and political question, which is exclusively under the control of the several States, has a far wider and more enduring importance than that of pecuniary interest. In its manifold phases it embraces the stability of Republican institutions, resting on the actual political equality of all its citizens, and includes the fulfillment of the task which has been so happily begun—that of christianizing and improving the condition of the Africans who have, by the will of Providence, been placed in our charge. Comparing the results of our experience with those of the experiments of others who have borne similar relations to the African race, the people of the several States of the Confederacy have abundant reason to be satisfied with the past, and to use the greatest circumspection in determining their course. These considerations, however, are rather applicable to the improbable contingency of our need of resorting to this element of resistance than to our present condition. If the recommendations above made for the training of 40,000 negroes for the service indicated, shall meet your approval, it is certain that even this limited number, by their preparatory training in intermediate duties, would form a more valuable reserve force in case of urgency than three-fold their number suddenly called from field labor; while a fresh levy could, to a certain extent, supply their places in the special service for which they are now employed.

VIEWS OF THE REBEL SECRETARY OF WAR.

[Extract from his Report.]

With a view to the increase of our armies in the field, the policy has been suggested, and has attracted some public attention, of enlisting our negro slaves as soldiers. No compunction could be felt in so using them, for deeply as the whites of the South are interested in repelling the invasion and forever liberating themselves from the association or thraldom of our enemies, the negroes of the South are even more vitally concerned. With the whites, it is a question of nationality, of honor and property; with the negroes, in its dread issues in no distant future, it is the question of their existence as a race. The friendship of a people so selfish, cruel and remorseless as our foes, would be to the unhappy negro more fatal than to us their enmity. In contact with them, under their pretended freedom before the law, which, in operation on an inferior race, is but a license to greed and oppression—exposed to all the vices, without the providence of the civilized man—they must soon, in the language of a leader among their professed friends, "be trampled out as a sickly exotic," or wither away amid the blighting influence of debauchery, pauperism, crime and disease. They have besides the homes they value, the families they love, and the masters they respect and depend on, to defend and protect against the savagery and devastation of the enemy. No fear is entertained of their fidelity, for the feelings and the interests of the great mass of the negroes have been conclusively manifested to be with their protectors and masters. Neither is it doubted, that under the leadership of those whites to whom they have been habituated and in whom they have confidence, they would exhibit more steadfastness and courage than they will ever attain as soldiers of the enemy. If any added incentive were required from the supposed love of freedom natural to man, it might be readily afforded by the assurance of emancipation to all who conducted themselves with fidelity and courage during the war. For any such action it would, of course, require the concurring legislation of each State, from the slave population of which the negro soldiers had been drawn; because to the States belong exclusively the determination of the relations which their colored population, or any part of them, shall hold.

It is not doubted, however, should it be deemed expedient so to employ and reward slaves enlisted as soldiers, that the necessary legislation would be accorded, for there is no sacrifice of property or minor interests which would not be made by either our States or people to assure final separation from our hateful foes and the achievement of our liberty and independence. While it is encouraging to know this resource for further and future efforts at our command, my own judgment does not yet either perceive the necessity or approve the policy of employing slaves in the higher duties of soldiers; they are confessedly inferior in all respects to our white citizens in the qualifications of the soldier, and I have thought we have within the military age as large a proportion of our whole population as will be required or can be advantageously employed in active military operations. If, then, the negro be employed in the war, the inferior is preferred to the superior agent for the work. In such a war as this, waged against foes bent with malignant persistence on our destruction, and for all that man holds priceless—the most vital work is that of the soldier, and for it wisdom and duty require the most fitting workmen. The superior instrumentalities should be preferred. It will not do, in my opinion, to risk our liberties and safety on the negro, while the white man may be called to the sacred duty of defence. For the present it seems best to leave the subordinate labors of society to the negro, and to impose its highest, as now existing, on the superior class.

VIEWS OF THE REBEL PRESS.

From the Richmond Examiner.

This project originated with those who had not fully reflected on its character, and has been made a matter of some publicity by others who delight in all things which make a sensation. The proposition has, in fact, made a considerable sensation both in the Northern and the Southern States. It has not hitherto been mentioned in these columns, because there was no possibility that it would become a practical measure of policy, and because it was a matter to provoke a violent discord of feeling and speech at a period when such discussion was most undesirable. Both from its delicacy and from the fact that it has never been a subject of official deliberation, we are surprised to see it treated in the President's Message.

It is sometimes said that negroes would make better soldiers for us than for the Yankees, because they would fight under the eyes of their masters and friends. Such sentimental suppositions show a great ignorance of the negro's character; and even if they were founded on some truth, attachment to his master would be no balance to his native fickleness and the strong incentives to desertion which the enemy would hold out to him. The fact is, the negro soldier costs far more than he is worth to Frenchman and Yankee, and to us he would be more troublesome than to either of the others.

But the existence of a negro soldier is totally inconsistent with our political aim and with our social as well as political system. We surrender our position whenever we introduce the negro to arms. If a negro is fit to be a soldier he is not fit to be a slave, and if any large portion of the race is fit for free labor—fit to live and to be useful under the competitive system of labor—then the whole race is fit for it. The employment of negroes as soldiers in our armies, either with or without prospective emancipation, would be the first step, but a step which would involve all the rest, to universal abolition. It would be so understood and regarded by all the world. Our enemy would perceive that he had succeeded in his design to the point of moral subjugation, and would not doubt that our absolute submission was far removed. To our own hearts it would be a confession, not only of weakness, but of absolute inability to secure the object for which we undertook the war. It would be felt by all as a compromise to the abolitionism of the world, incompatible with that independence of action for which the South strives.

But the objections to this project are so manifest that it is unnecessary at present even to suggest them. The President opposes the introduction of negroes into the army as soldiers, but desires a corps of forty thousand to be used in labor on fortifications, as engineers, as teamsters and as sappers and miners. To a proposition of that sort no one could have the least objection, if he had not concluded with an obscure passage, which, if it means anything, means that the forty thousand slaves so employed shall be set free at the end of the war as a reward for their service. Here, while refusing to employ the slaves under arms, he adopts the fatal principle of the original proposition to its fullest extent, and puts forth an idea which, if admitted by the Southern people as a truth, renders their position on the matter of slavery utterly untenable. We hold that the negro is in his proper situation—that is to say, in the condition which is the best for him, where he reaches his highest moral, intellectual and physical development, and can enjoy the full sum of his natural happiness; in a word, that while living with the white man in the relation of slave he is in a state superior and better for him than that of freedom. But the negro's freedom is to be given him as a reward for his service to the country; his freedom, therefore, is a boon—it is a better state—a natural good of which our laws deprive him and keep him from. Now that is the whole theory of the Abolitionist, and we have the sorrow to think that if one portion of this Presidential message means anything it means that.

From the Richmond Whig.

Two propositions are plainly deducible from the President's message, which we cannot for a moment believe he would deliberately give his sanction to. The first is: The condition of freedom is so much better for the slave than that of servitude that it may be bestowed upon him as a reward and boon. The second is, that the Confederate government has a right to acquire possession of the slaves by purchase or impressment with compensation, and then emancipate them without the consent of the States, or in case of impressment even without the consent of their masters. The first proposition is a repudiation of the opinion held by the whole South, and by a large portion of mankind in other countries, that servitude is a divinely appointed condition for the highest good of the slave. Is that the condition in which the negro race especially may obtain the highest moral and intellectual advancement of which they are capable, and may enjoy most largely of such comforts and blessings of life, as are suited to them? Of this we have no doubt, and we hold it to be an act of cruelty to deprive the slave of the care and guardianship of a master. If the slave must fight, he should fight for the blessings he enjoys as a slave, and not for the miseries that would attend him if freed. The second proposition is still more startling. It is a concession that the Confederate government has the power and right to exterminate slavery by the simple process of impressing or purchasing all slaves, and then emancipating them. Lincoln has never gone so far as this; for, in his plan for compensated emancipation, he expressly referred the question to the State, acknowledging that they only could determine it. It is unnecessary to dwell on this subject. We are perfectly sure the President could never have designed to give his assent to so monstrous a proposition as this. The multiplicity and magnitude of the subjects that claim his attention will suggest sufficient excuse for the inadvertance of expression and immaturity of views from which theories, so out of place in a communication from the President of these slaveholding States, are deducible.

From the Lynchburg Republican.

It is painful to reflect how soon the landmarks of great principles are lost amid the throes of revolution. For forty years the people of the South have been fiercely battling against the mad schemes of the Abolitionists to destroy the institution of domestic slavery. We have uniformly contended that negroes were property, and that slavery was a local institution, with which no power under the sun could interfere save the sovereign States themselves, in their individual capacity. For this great principle of right of the States to regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves, we went to war with the North, and for nearly four years have maintained the dreadful conflict with unexampled success. Just at the moment when all the gigantic schemes of the enemy to subjugate us have failed—when Grant is panting for breath to renew a contest in which he has been completely baffled, and Sherman is toiling to escape from the coil of Hood, which threatens the destruction of his army—just at the auspicious moment when the bright and glorious day of independence is about to break upon us with the splendor of an unclouded sun—just at such moment it is gravely proposed by respectable though chimerical journals in the South to ignore all our past cardinal principles, surrender the great question for which we went to war, and do for ourselves precisely what Lincoln and the Abolitionists proposed to do for us without war—*abolish slavery!*

This is the naked proposition of those who advocate the conscription of our slaves as soldiers. They propose to conscript "all the able-bodied negroes of the country" between the ages of 18 and 45 "respectively," arm and equip them in the field as soldiers along with our white men. As an inducement to make these negroes faithful to our cause, they are to be given their freedom and permitted to live among us after the war as freemen. The result of such a proposition, if successful, cannot be mistaken by a blind man or an idiot. It will convert the sovereign States of the Confederacy into free negro colonies, with all the social and political evils which attend the amalgamation of adverse races. If our negro men are made free, then justice and sound policy would require that their wives and children should be permitted to enjoy freedom along with their husbands and fathers, on the principle announced by the Richmond *Enquirer*, "that they who fight for freedom deserve to be freemen." Whether this be just or not, it is very certain that our slaves, once made freemen, and trained in the skill of arms, and the hardships of the camp, and the dangers of the battle-field, would not only insist on their own freedom, but on the freedom of their entire race.

Nay, more. They would insist, and have the right to insist at the point of the bayonet, upon enjoying all the civil, social and political rights enjoyed by their former masters, on the ground that they had suffered equally all the dangers and responsibilities of the struggle. The horrible result would be either the amalgamation of the black and white races in the South, with all its attendant shame and ruin, or a dreadful civil war of extermination between the white men and the blacks. Can such consequences be contemplated by the Southern mind without a shudder for the result? And yet this is the certain end to which it is now proposed to educate our slaves.

Look at the question in another point of view. If our slaves are made soldiers, then they will have to be governed by the same military laws which govern the white man, because we have only one military code. They will, therefore, be *ipso facto* the equals of their masters, entitled to the same rights and subject only to the same punishments. The insolence of our former slaves would have to be endured, or, if chastised, they would have the right and the force to chastise back again; thus destroying the first principle of negro subordination, which is the life of the institution at the South.

We caution the people and the press in all solemnity against countenancing this new and mad scheme of abolition; this scheme to convert the Southern States into free negro colonies; to make the slave the equal of the white man; to rob the master of his rightful property; to emancipate the slave against positive State enactments; to destroy all hope of civil liberty in the South, and make to Lincoln and the world the humiliating confession that we are incapable of defending our property or our freedom.

From the Savannah Republican.

As a resort in a great public emergency, and dictated by stern necessity, the enlistment of negro troops for certain military duties, however objectionable under ordinary circumstances, might be eminently proper and wise....... We hope, and believe, that we have reached no such extremity in the Confederate States; but what we may come to, should the war continue and the ports of Europe be kept open for the tide of pauper emigration to flow out and be cast upon Yankee shores, there is no telling what may be our condition and the necessities that may press upon us as a people, calling for a rational solution.

But suppose the aid of the negro should become necessary in order to drive back the invading horde of Yankees, Dutch, Irish and Africans, shall we reject that aid? Shall we prefer rather to go down in one eternal political night and become the serfs of a bitter, unfeeling and remorseless tyranny, to be placed over us by our Northern enemies? There are some men who contend that we should; at least their argument leads to that conclusion. To such we would propound a few queries, and hope they will be able to answer them satisfactorily to themselves:

You talk eloquently against making the negro the equal of the white man—had we not better do so, so far as using him as an instrument of war is concerned, and for a limited period, than have the Abolitionists make him our equal forever, and what is worse, an agent to aid in keeping us in subjection, and hence our superior?

The soldier in the field complains of the very idea of fighting in a common cause with a negro—is it not better than to have the Yankees fight him against you?

We are opposed to freeing slaves in these States, on any pretext, believing that slavery is their proper and happiest condition; but suppose policy should suggest the freeing of a portion, would not it be better for us to do it than have our enemies free the whole?

From the Richmond Enquirer.

The conscription of negroes should be accompanied with freedom and the privilege of remaining in the States; this is no part of abolitionism, it is the exercise by the master of the unquestionable right of manumission; it is remunerating those who defend our cause with the privilege of freedom. Nor should this important subject be prejudiced with questions about putting the negro on an equality with our friends, brothers and fathers. Many of the soldiers in their childhood were fondled and nursed by faithful negro nurses, and yet no question of equality was ever raised. Many a man has manumitted slaves without ever being subjected to the suspicion of being an Abolitionist. The issues involved in this war are too exalted in their importance and character for us to permit them to be compromised by being degraded to a question of property. The liberty and freedom of ourselves and of our children, the nationality of our country, the right of enjoying any kind of property, the houses over our heads, and the very graves of our children and friends, are involved in the struggle. Failure makes slaves of all, white and black; robs all of property, real and personal; divides our lands among our conquerors, who will plow up the very graves of our dead as fertilized ground for making money. We have in our midst a half million of fighting material which is property—shall we use that property for the common cause? Justice and sound policy demand that we make freemen of those who fight for freedom. We conscript the master, and we take his horses, cattle, wheat and every other property except slaves. This very exception is an imputation that this war is for slavery and not for freedom. By conscripting the negroes, we show to the world the earnestness that is in our people; we prove to our enemies that at the moment of our supposed exhaustion, in the fifth year of the war, we shall meet them with larger armies than we have before raised; and we expose the false accusation that we are fighting for slavery, or a slaveholders' confederacy.

But the discussion has been clouded by the proposition of freedom after the war; and some say that, if freedom is recognized as a boon to be given as the reward for fidelity, a blow is struck at slavery. We believe that but one State in the Confederacy forbids manumission. In Virginia, "any person may emancipate any of his slaves by last will in writing, or by deed recorded in the courts of his county or corporation." Is this statutory boon a denial that slavery is the best condition for the negro? Unquestionably not; and yet fidelity to the master is here permitted to be rewarded by emancipation. Now, cannot fidelity to the national cause, attested by endurance of hardship, by gallantry in action and exposure to death, be rewarded with freedom, without any compromise to the relation in which those are still held who have given no assurance of such fidelity? We cannot see that reward for faithful services in the least conflicts with the reasons and arguments which support and sustain negro slavery. We hold the belief that the negro is best off, is in "the right place," when he has a good master; but the negro may think otherwise, and *salus populi*, which induces his employment as a soldier, demands sacrifices that shall secure his fidelity. This sacrifice is made in offering him his freedom for faithfulness. Nothing is yielded to the ignorant prejudices of the world; a simple bargain is struck. *The negro wants his freedom; whether a boon or a curse, he wants it*, and for it may be willing faithfully to serve in the army of his country. That country stands in need of those services; one is offered for the other. It has no touch of philanthropy about it—no sympathy or connection with Abolitionism."

Correspondence of the Richmond Enquirer.

Some pretend that the army has great aversion to seeing the negro conscripted; that they will not allow themselves thus to be put on an equality with the negro; others that there is a great principle of morality involved in thus forcing the negro to risk his life for the freedom of his master. If the first class would cultivate the society of our intelligent soldiers more, they would discover *the real sentiments of the army to be greatly in favor of negro conscription for recruiting the army for the ensuing Spring*. As to those who entertain the latter view of "moral objection," etc., their opinions, conscientious and moral suasions smack too much of the fanatical and Puritanical love for the negro which the Northman professes when we see them unwilling to allow him to strike a blow against those who would enslave to a worse than Hindostan servitude both master and servant.

That the negro will fight more faithfully for his master than for the Yankee, no one can doubt who has seen the attachment of slaves to their masters in camp, and the reliance and faithfulness with which they discharge sometimes the most dangerous and difficult duties. Then, too, the wonderful change which would be brought upon them by giving such as were enlisted their immediate freedom, with the promise of a grant of land after the war, would cause them to acknowledge and look upon the Yankee as their inferior, whom they now consider as their equal. Let this freedom be given them in due form by their masters, and solemnly confirmed by the seal of the County Court upon their being conscripted, and we would hear no more of negroes running to the enemy to be free. Contented and happy around their camp-fires, they, with proper discipline and drill, would make us soldiers superior to any the enemy have yet brought against us.

From another correspondent of the same paper.

Can it be possible that a Southern man—editor of a Southern journal—recognizing the right of property in slaves, admitting their inferiority in the scale of being, and also their social inferiority, would recommend the passage of a law which at one blow *levels all distinctions, deprives the master of a right to his property, and elevates the negro to an equality with the white man?*—for, disguise it as you may, those who fight together in a common cause, and by success win the same freedom, enjoy equal rights and equal position, and, in this case, are distinguished only by color. Are we prepared for this? Is it for this we are contending? Is it for this we would seek the aid of our slaves? To win their freedom with our own independence, to establish in our midst a half or quarter of a million of black freemen, familiar with the arts and discipline of war, and with large military experience! Has the bitter experience of Virginia with regard to free negroes already been forgotten? Has that fixed subject of legislation found its solution and remedy in the wise expedient of arming and training to arms not only her worthless free negro population, but is this class to be multiplied tenfold by this slave conscription? Will ignorant, brutal, free negroes be rendered less ignorant, less thievish, more humane by this training of the camp? by the campaigns of three or four years?

Messrs. Editors, if you had sought in the political body of the confederacy for some spot at which to aim and strike one blow which should at once deprive it of life, you could not have found one more vital, or have struck with more deadly certainty than you have done by the advocacy of such a scheme; and, if there is any member of Congress so lost to his sense of the duty which he owes to his country and the Constitution which he has sworn to defend; if there is one who is not tired of the scenes of blood and ruin and devastation which have stained and desolated many portions of our beloved land, but yet desires to see more and yet a thousand fold more of the strife and woe and misery begotten by civil revolution, let him persuade Congress to pass such a law and attempt to carry out such a system, and the things which have been will be nothing to the things which shall be—the revolution and war, born and nurtured and raging in our midst—shall be when compared to that struggle in which we are now engaged, as the wild and desolating tornado, compared to the mild Summer wind—as the angry fury of the ocean waves, when lashed by fierce blasts, to the smooth surface of the mountain lake.

Have you thought of the influence to be exerted by those half or quarter million of free negroes in the midst of slaves, as you propose to leave them at the end of the war? These men constitute the bone and sinew of our slaves—the able-bodied between eighteen and forty-five. *They will be men who know the value and power of combination; they will be well disciplined, trained to the use of arms, with the power and ability of command; at the same time they will be grossly and miserably ignorant, without any fixed principle of life or the ability of acquiring one.* The camp and the battle are not considered the best school of virtue. With habits of idleness learned in camp, with no fixed calling or business in which to engage, a class by color and circumstances proscribed and unable to rise. Then, again, these men must have their wives and children slaves, subject to all the restrictions of slavery, while they are to enjoy all the privileges of freedom. Will not this necessarily make them discontented? or, if not, you ought in gratitude and perhaps in policy to free their wives and children. This will give you, instead of half a million, a million and a half or two million of free negroes in your midst. This is more than one half of the present slave population of the Confederate States.

How long would slavery last under this strain? Is not your proposition abolitionism in disguise? No, Messrs. Editors, we could not live in a country inhabited by such a class. Either they or we would be forced to leave.

Correspondence of the Mobile Advertiser.

We have but one source from which to derive our strength. The element which has been the foundation of wealth should now be made the instrument of our salvation. Arm our slaves. We must tell them: The Yankees have determined that you shall play a part in this war, that you shall fight. Now we put the question to you: Will you fight for us as freemen, with the privilege of staying among us after the war, or fight for the Yankee? for fight on one side or the other you must. Assemble the able-bodied negroes of a plantation and let their master speak to them thus, let him assure them that the promises of the government will be carried out, and I feel certain that, out of fifty, twenty-five volunteers could be obtained; and he who fights willingly fights better than he who is forced to fight. We shall moreover, demoralize the Yankee negro troops by putting negroes into our army (the reasons are obvious), and they would desert to us by hundreds; while we would at once remove the difficulties which now stand in the way of the exchange of prisoners.

How will the army like the innovation? I have heard some of our men say they could not get along with negroes; but my opinion is that our boys would at least fight as well if they knew their flanks were well protected by a well disciplined division, even if their skins were black. Besides, no one asks them to affiliate with negroes. Let the line of demarkation be drawn then as now; only if a colored corps behaves

well in battle, give it the credit due to men who have deported themselves gallantly, for bravery should command respect. And after all it is much better to shoot with a negro at a Yankee uniform than be shot at by that negro in Yankee uniform; and this will be the case if the war goes on long enough. If we do not get the negro, the Yankees will, and the terminal scenes of this struggle, if negroes are not used by us, will be the subjugation of the Southern gentleman by his own slave.

Should the infiltration among the slaves of so large a number of free blacks, with that improvement of morals and character which would result to them fighting side by side with white men, endanger our institution, what then? Is it in no danger now? What becomes of it if we are whipped? What becomes of it even if we are not whipped eventually, and Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Hunter, and Mr Sheridan, *et id omne genus*, continue to make raids upon us and gather their fighting material from our own doors? Sir, we must look the fact firmly in the face that the institution of slavery is endangered by this war. There are fifteen million people fighting for its extinction. There are a hundred million applauding them! It is useless to hide our heads under the blanket. We are fighting for national independence, and not for slavery, and so, I think, believes Mr. Davis; for the question of slavery, as an object of this war, has never, to my knowledge, obtruded itself in any of his public documents. If we can succeed in this war and maintain our original position, that slavery is a beneficent institution, the only solution of the great problem of the relation of labor to capital; if we can prove the world wrong, and eventually overcome its prejudices, so much the better for us. But let us never forget the great fact that we are fighting for independence, independence! and perish slavery if it stands in its way.

I am firmly convinced that public sentiment is in favor of putting our negroes in the army. I hear it expressed daily by those who own slaves and those who do not. A member of the Mississippi Legislature told me last week that he had seven men he would give to the government if it put arms in their hands. A majority of those who are silent on this question speak not their views because they fear being stigmatized as anti-slavery men. I feel sure that before the next meeting of Congress, the prosperity, expediency and necessity of arming negroes will have taken such hold on the public mind that it will be advocated by a large majority of our Representatives.

If I am correct, then let every patriotic slaveholder canvass his slaves and find out who among them will *volunteer* for freedom and his home. Let him prepare the negro's mind for the position he is about to assume, and excite in him that love of country and of home which, I believe, exists strongly in the negro's breast.

[The subject is now before the Rebel Congress, where it elicits the most contradictory views. The strongest influence in the body is evidently opposed to the project, at least for the present.]

NORTH-WESTERN CONSPIRACY.

INSIDE VIEW OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—HOW THE SONS OF LIBERTY WERE TO ARRANGE IT—VALLANDIGHAM'S SPEECHES TO THE ORDER.

Telegraphic Correspondence Cincinnati Commercial.

INDIANAPOLIS, Nov. 15, 1864.

THE examination of Dr. James B. Wilson was completed to-day. It gives an interesting inside view of the false pretenses of the Rebel Commissioners, of the Chicago revolutionary conclave, and of the Chicago Convention. The witness testified that, at the Chicago meeting, July 20th, Barrett, of Missouri, and an Illinois Major, of Chicago, represented the Southern Confederacy.

Amos Green, of Illinois, was expected, but hadn't come; also Mr. Vallandigham. Mr. Green and Mr. Holloway of Illinois. Bullitt said Vallandigham was expected. Dodd represented himself as coming from the Clifton House, at Niagara Falls, where he had met the delegates duly authorized by the Southern Confederacy to attend this meeting—Holcombe, Clay, Saunders, and Captain Majors. He heard something said about a safe conduct being asked by Holcombe & Co., through Greeley. Witness learned who was to head the uprising in Indiana and Ohio. Dodd was to be the leader in Indiana, and Vallandigham in Ohio. He said he had forces at his disposal in Canada to invade Ohio, and then coöperate with other forces at Cincinnati and Louisville. He learned this from Dr Bowles. Barrett paid the bill of Wilson and Green as delegates to the Chicago meeting. When Barrett made his proposition there were present Dr. Bowles, Mr. Williams, and Judge Bullitt of Kentucky, and Mr. Piper, who was a general missionary of the Order, carrying light into dark places; also, Mr. Majors, Mr. Severn, and Mr. Holloway of Illinois. Witness was admitted by the representation of Bowles that he was on his military staff, as only military men of the Order were admitted; did not hear any measures definitely adopted; there seemed to be another meeting in an adjoining room; saw Bowles after the meeting at Chicago, about the 7th of August; he said Dodd had abandoned his project; did not learn definitely why it was abandoned; heard Bowles say at Chicago messengers had been sent to rebel officers in Missouri and Kentucky, to Price and Buckner, he thought, as it was understood they would coöperate in the uprising in Indiana; the uprising was to take place by order of Dodd; he was to send couriers to the four Major-Generals, and they to the leading men of the Order in each County, who were to notify the township organizations of the uprising; the signal of insurrection was to be the announcement of the presence of rebel troops or guerillas at or near St. Louis or Louisville, on or near the 16th of August, according to the success of the couriers in notifying the rebel forces. Some of them were to rendezvous at New Albany, under Dr. Bowles, others at Indianapolis, under Dodd; in Illinois they were to rendezvous at Rock Island, Springfield and Chicago; after seizing the arsenals at those points, they were to march directly to St. Louis and coöperate with Price in taking it; operations in Indiana were to be supervised by Dodd; forces were to be concentrated at Indianapolis, Terre Haute, New Albany, and perhaps Jeffersonville; Dodd was to supervise the capture of the Capital; several public meetings, and perhaps a Sabbath-school pic nic were to be held in the woods near Camp Morton; the orders were to come armed, secreting their arms in wagons; at an appointed time all would unite in a general drill without arms, to learn what duties were assigned them. When the troops at the camp were on dress parade that would be signalized by some one, and all would rush to arms, burn the fences and buildings of the camp, and liberate the prisoners, who would attack the troops in the rear and place them between fires, and compel their surrender. Meanwhile the Governor was to be seized and the arsenals, when they would clothe and arm themselves better from them, then seize the railroad to Jeffersonville and transport troops and munitions of war to Louisville; with these the rebel forces, and others ordered to join them, would take Louisville, New Albany and Jeffersonville. This plan was generally known in the Order in Washington County, where it numbered 1000. Witness received from Dr. Bowles $1,000 to purchase arms for members of the Order in his County who could not arm themselves; made inquiries about arms, but purchased none; loaned the money to drafted men.

The witness said he was not under arrest, and did not testify under any promises or threats.

There was a meeting of the Sons of Liberty at Chicago during the session of the Chicago Convention; he was notified by Moss, of Missouri, to attend it; met first on Sunday night at the Richmond House, in the sixth story, in a suit of rooms connected with folding doors; 150 or 200 persons were present; Vallandigham presided by vote; no passwords were required. Another meeting was held next day; Moss, of Missouri, made a speech, pointing to the sufferings of the people in that State; they had suffered outrage in person and property; he said if the Order was worth anything, or intended to do anything to restore the government under the Constitution, now was the time to strike; their sufferings were intolerable, and men who had the true blood of manhood would not endure them any longer. Barrett and Piper, of Missouri, were at this meeting.

Capt. Majors was then in Chicago; just before the Monday meeting, saw Gen. Singleton of Illinois, and Barrett of Missouri in a room below; Singleton said they were arranging matters to break up the Convention, if it dared to disown the Order; he had prepared a large number of mottoes for transparencies for a public procession of the Order in that event; Vallandigham presided at the second meeting and made another speech; on Sunday he had spoken of the divided condition of the Democratic party, and till recently he had thought the Chicago Convention, like that of Charleston, would break up; but since his arrival, and intercourse with men from all parts of the country, he had changed his opinion; he had seen the prominent men of the party, and found among them a wonderful unanimity of feeling and oneness of idea; he believed the party could be more effectually united than for years before; he had no doubt that through his instrumentality he could secure a proper platform for the party to stand on.

In his second speech he reiterated his former remarks, and drew from his pocket a platform which he had presented to the delegates from most of the States, and it had met with universal support; if they got that platform he would take McClellan, or any other man, as a candidate; by the adoption of it, he believed, their organization would merge its action with that of the Democratic party. Barrett, of Missouri, was present at both these meetings, and made no objection to Vallandigham's remarks; the persons addressed by Moss, at the first meeting, were addressed as members of the Order. This Mr. Barrett, of Missouri, professed to be a friend of Douglas, and got up a regiment to help defend Pilot Knob; Douglas failed to get a commission; he resigned; before that resignation was accepted, he was engaged in sending persons through the lines to the Confederacy.

After some other less important testimony than Dr. Wilson's the Commission adjourned.

CONFESSIONS OF THE CRIMINALS.

From the Chicago Journal, Nov. 16.

We are authorized by Col. Sweet, the commandant of the post at Camp Douglas, to state, that upon evidence that he had received of the complicity of a number of citizens in the great conspiracy to rescue the rebel prisoners and fire the city, he proceeded to arrest the following parties last night.

C. W. Patten, Democratic Judge of the First Precinct of the First Ward poll at the recent election, and member of the State Council, Sons of Liberty.

Francis Adams, present Democratic City Attorney, and one who signed the circular on the day of election denouncing the arrests made as an "election trick."

Obadiah Jackson, Jr., a leading Democrat and lawyer, and Grand Seignior of the Sons of Liberty.

James Larmon, a wealthy Kentucky Democrat, and —— Semmes nephew of the pirate of that name, and James Geary, a leading Copperhead, and F. W. Hoffman. The latter, upon making a statement that, upon discovering the Order to be treasonable, he abandoned it after attending one meeting, was discharged.

Obadiah Jackson, Jr., in a long interview with the authorities, stated freely and frankly his connection with the whole matter. He said he joined the Sons of Liberty three or four months since, at the instigation of Judge Buckner S. Morris, upon the representation that it was simply a Democratic party organization. He was taken by Morris to McCormick's building, where he was initiated. Shortly before the election he was informed that he had been elected Grand Seignior of the Order. He presided at a number of meetings of the Order, at the Invincible Club Rooms. The last of these meetings was on the Sunday before the election.

Charles Walsh, Patton and others were present. The discussion was in relation to the rescuing of the prisoners of Camp Douglas, arming the members, and taking possession of the polls. Walsh, Geary, Patten and others stated there were plenty of arms in the city for all the Order and others. Two rendezvous for the distribution of arms were indicated at that meeting, one of which was the Invincible Club Room. As presiding officer, he appointed the committee to distribute the arms, of which Semmes was a member. He says at that meeting he (Jackson) first discovered that the design of the organization was treasonable, and that it would lead to bloodshed and revolution, and he determined to expose the Order to the authorities, but the military arrests made the same day, he thought, rendered it unnecessary.

Mr. Geary's business, being a second-hand clothing dealer, appears to have been to furnish rebel prisoners who got away from Camp Douglas with clothing, to enable them to escape, as well as to the rebel officers for concealment, whilst in the city aiding and assisting the conspirators.

From the extract of the testimony volunteered by Messrs. Jackson and Hoffman, it will be seen that Col. Sweet has not acted hastily or unadvisedly. And yet this is but a small portion of the damning proofs he has in his possession in regard to this infamous and diabolical plot. He deemed it his duty to make sure of the guilt of those who were most prominent and influential, and he is amply borne out in all that he has done.

The rebel officers came here by the invitation of this treasonable organization, which aided, subsisted, clothed and sheltered them. But for the vigilance and zeal of the Post-Commandant, his detectives and assistants, Chicago would, in all probability, ere this, have been a heap of ashes, moistened by the blood of its citizens. All good people will unite in awarding him the credit that is due to his official fidelity and energy.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1864.

AMNESTY.

WE have just passed through one of the most critical moments of our National history, and we are fast approaching another, more critical yet. The Nation has sat in judgment on the Rebellion and passed sentence of death upon it. It has pronounced its opinion in favor of the justice and necessity of the terrible war in which it has been plunged for more than three years, and has appointed a President and Commander-in-Chief who, it believes, will carry it on to the only just and righteous conclusion—the territorial unity of the National domain and the personal liberty of every human being upon it. This is the meaning of the election just had, and any result of the war which shall fall short of the accomplishment of these two purposes will be a failure of duty towards the Sovereign People, if not a fraud upon it, on the part of the high functionaries it has appointed to do this work in its behalf. The possibility of a peace based upon the recognition of the independence of the Rebel country was effectually set at rest by the election. That question is no longer a question, if it ever were one, beyond the ranks of the Knights of the Golden Circle, or whatever title best pleases the ear of the Vallandighamites. The other question, we hold, has also been put beyond the possibility of reconsideration, and decided, without appeal, in favor of universal liberty and the breaking of every yoke. Whenever the time comes for the cessation of hostilities, the absolute integrity of the United States as it existed in 1860, and the abolition of slavery, must be made the preliminaries of any pacification, or the will of the People will not have been done. It is only on the last point that there is any danger of temporizing or compromising, not to the extent of endangering its ultimate establishment; but, possibly, to that of an unwise endeavor to make it the ground of negotiation, with the hope of some temporary concession, if not of some permanent modification.

The temper and purpose of the people, as exhibited in the election and in their patient submission to all the losses and burdens of the war, together with the successes of our armies and navies, all presaging the end of the rebellion at hand, have brought the consideration of what is to come after the end with fresh force to men's minds. The late speech of Gen. Butler at the Fifth Avenue Hotel (which will be found in another part of this sheet) has also given a new impulse to thought and talk in that direction. At the entertainment given to that admirable officer by the citizens of New York, in grateful recognition of the magical effect of his mere name in preserving order and keeping down all rebellious demonstrations during the excitement of the election, he took occasion to speak of the treatment which should, or might, be shown to the rebels, in case recent events should put them into a tractable frame of mind. More importance, even, than that which the great weight of his personal opinion would have lent to what he said, was attributed to his words, from the belief that they foreshadowed action soon to be taken in the very highest quarter. As the war must come to an end, and that before long, Gen. Butler gives his opinion as to the way in which it now may be ended, or, if not ended, carried on in the most effective manner. He thinks that the nation has now proved itself firm and strong enough to make a last offer of amnesty to the rebels, even including their leaders, inviting them to return and "find exactly such laws as before, except so far as they are altered by the good judgment of the legislatures of the land." This last expression, if he were correctly reported, is a little ambiguous, if it be not interpreted by his words and actions for the last three years. It cannot be supposed that he means the laws as they exist unaltered in the rebel States. He cannot mean that the rebels should be invited to come back with slavery as it was before their rebellion. He means, of course, to grant them free pardon on condition of accepting the Emancipation of their slaves as part of its price. We certainly cannot imagine him advising the President, or the President consenting if he did, to offer them an amnesty on any other terms.

Every war must have an end, as Gen. Butler says, and he also knows that every war is ended by some kind of compromise. Even the severest terms of peace, granted by sovereigns to rebels, are less severe than law would permit carried out to its extremity. By rebellion, rebels forfeit all right to life and property, and, in the last result, after a rebellion suppressed, every life might be taken and every kind of property confiscated. This is never done anywhere, and, certainly, will not be done here. That our rebels will be most mercifully treated, at the end of the rebellion, we may be very certain. But we think Gen. Butler rather overestimates the forgiving spirit of the Nation if he means that the leaders of the rebellion should be saved harmless in life, estate and political privileges. We do not think that the people will tolerate any amnesty that should open the doors of the Senate Chamber to Davis and Breckinridge and Slidell and Benjamin, and thus give the Copperhead party an infusion of new life and venom for future harm. Possibly, they would consent that the lives of these rascals should be spared—we think the majority would be better pleased to hear that Gen. Butler had tried them summarily and hanged them—but we think that it would not be well for any public authority to propose rehabilitating them in their rights as citizens. As to the masses of the rebels, of course their lives would be spared, and their properties, if they submitted in season, with the exception of their slaves. Having a right to take away or destroy all that they have, we have, of course, the right to take away or to destroy any part—and that part must be their property in their slaves. This, we apprehend, would be the explanation which Gen. Butler would give of anything uncertain in the sound of his words. Neither he nor the President can so far stultify themselves as to propose any terms of pardon which shall not include the carrying out of the Emancipation proclamation. The leaders punished, if not with death, at least with the loss of civil rights, and the freedom of the slaves secured, the country would probably make no objection to an amnesty as to all besides.

The objection to such an offered amnesty at this time, on the part of the rebels and their friends everywhere, would be that it was made knowing that it would be refused. It would be denounced as a pettifogging trick to get a refusal which should justify the extreme measures which Gen. Butler states as its just and necessary consequence. This, indeed, is no sufficient reason for not making it, if it be judged a wise measure. The only danger would be in the initiation of some negotiations, the more dangerous if made under the mediation of any foreign Power, which would lead to insidious propositions. Supposing such a negotiation possible, and the rebels, seeing that they had no chance of success and thinking it best to save all they could, should say, "We agree to return and obey the laws, and will not object to the Emancipation of our Slaves at a proper time. But not yet. For God's sake, don't compel us to let go our hold of the wolf we have by the ears. We agree to the freedom of all slaves freed by the operation of the war, soldiers and others, and also to that of all from after the 4th of July, 1876." We fear that a very large number of persons would say, "that is reasonable, statesmanlike, philosophical, humane. It ought to be granted." And this on the part of many very eminent persons who have supported Mr. Lincoln at the late election. For it is not yet four years since he himself held analogous if not identical opinions. The opening of any negotiations would inevitably open questions and discussions such as these on the part of those who hold, with Mr. Seward and Mr. R. H. Dana, that the Proclamation, being a War-measure, has no effect after a peace, and of the great numbers who honestly believe that there is some better preparation for freedom than freedom itself. We trust, therefore, that whatever terms Mr. Lincoln proposes to offer the rebels shall be absolute and imperative, with no room left for discussion either on their part or on ours. Let the conditions of amnesty be such as they must either take or leave. Should they consent to return to allegiance, abandoning slavery, in good faith, the object of the war for their reduction will have been accomplished. If they refuse, the stern consequences indicated by Gen. Butler would be the inevitable result. For slavery cannot be abolished and the reconstruction of the Union expected, excepting by an armed occupation of the rebel country, protecting the blacks and the new white emigrants from the North in their rights. But the first step towards removing slavery out of the way, and the last, also, is to amend the Constitution to that effect at the next session. We believe that this can be done, and, if it be, it will be the most salutary peace measure that can be imagined, and might well mitigate the terms on which peace could be offered and greatly hasten their acceptance. For we have but small faith that any amnesty, fit for us to offer, will be accepted by the rebels, as long as there is the shadow of protection given to slavery by the Constitution of the United States. This Amendment is our nearest duty. Let it be done with all our might.

COLORPHOBIA IN PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 20, 1864.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN the last issue of the STANDARD your Washington correspondent justly censures Philadelphia for its inhuman treatment of the colored people in regard to riding in the street cars. One might suppose that our own citizens were oblivious of the infamous fact, so callous are they relative to the subject, and so heedless in regard to taking such measures as would tend to remedy the outrage. Let the question be agitated. Let it be hammered into the ears of our heartless and indifferent population, that upon *them* rests the wickedness and barbarity of this cruel treatment of an innocent class of persons, and that they are responsible for thrusting them upon the front platform of the street car. Daily is the spectacle presented of poor shivering females, necessarily exposed to the cold, and biting inclemencies of weather, standing on the front of the cars, victims of a shameful inhumanity, without the power to redress their grievance, or repel the indignity. Who that has not a heart of stone, or a soul of turpitude, can behold the sight without the tenderest pity and deepest compassion? Is it not a sad commentary on the Christianity that is taught here, and the hold it takes upon the congregations? Is it not a beautiful exemplification of the workings of the golden rule? Does it not savor of a most peculiar kind of charity? How indicative it is of the prevalence of brotherly love among us, and the unqualified display of good will!

Why is this abominable imposition tolerated? Is the true moral sense of the community too weak to counteract the sentiment that dictates the infamous proceeding? Is there not sufficient courage and spirit here to remove the stigma which this thing imposes? It is positively outrageous that justice and humanity should be thus made subordinate to prejudice and selfishness, and a shame that there is no help for its endurance.

OSCAR.

ANOTHER SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT.—A few days since, the State Republican Committee of Maryland made a formal call of congratulation upon the President. The members of the Committee, representing nearly all the Counties of the State, were introduced by Hon. Montgomery Blair. After the formal introduction, Hon. Wm. H. Parnell, Postmaster at Baltimore, said to the President in substance, after a proper exordium: "We rejoice that your wise and just course has been endorsed by an almost unprecedented majority of the people. We are proud that our State had an humble share in this good work. You have appreciated our position as a border slave State, and we are indebted to your great discretion that we are to-day, by the sovereign decree of our citizens, ranked among the free States of the Union. We acknowledge our obligations to you, and express the sentiments, not only of this Committee, but of the Union people of Maryland, in saying that we trust your future Administration will be prosperous and successful in the reëstablishment of a free Union."

In reply Mr. Lincoln expressed his happiness to receive the Committee and his acknowledgments of their compliments. He expressed his gratification at the result of the election, and his gratitude for the seal of approbation set upon his course by the people. The policy he had pursued was intended to promote the best interests of the country. He indulged no feeling of triumph over defeated candidates. He could not rejoice over the defeat of anyone because he differed from him in opinion. He regarded the Presidential election not as a personal victory, but as an endorsement of a great principle. The adoption of the Free Constitution of Maryland was of more valuable service to the country than his own election, as the people could select a President every four years; but the adoption of a Free Constitution and the abolition of slavery in a State could never be recalled, but would endure forever. He hoped he would still have the approbation of his countrymen, and that his Administration would bring all parts of the Union once more together, and restore very quickly peace and harmony, and make us as we were, an undivided and happy and prosperous people.

A LADY IN PHILADELPHIA, in a letter enclosing her own subscription and that of another—a new subscriber—says: "I wish I could tell you the real pleasure I have in the perusal of the STANDARD. All my family look anxiously for it, and are never disappointed with the contents."

POLITICAL.

Gov. Yates is likely to be sent to the U. S. Senate from Illinois in place of Richardson, Copperhead, whose term expires on the 4th of March.

A delegated Convention is to meet in Nashville on the 19th of December to form a ticket to be run for a Constitutional Convention by the loyal men of Tennessee. The day for the meeting of the Constitutional Convention will be appointed by Gov. Johnson.

It is rumored that Montgomery Blair wants to be elected U. S. Senator by the Legislature of Maryland. The Radicals of that State would exhibit a very remarkable degree of magnanimity if they were to encourage his aspirations to that important post.

"The Basis of Suffrage" was the subject of a lecture delivered last week in the Fraternity course in Boston by David A. Wasson. The newspapers do not give us a very distinct idea of what the lecturer said, but we infer that he would require a fair degree of intelligence in the citizen as a prerequisite to suffrage.

The Copperhead newspapers denounce without stint those clergymen who, before the recent election, expounded to their congregations the duty of loyalty to their country and to freedom. Thank God for an emancipated pulpit! We remember a time, and that not long ago, when the ministers of almost every sect in the land were awe-struck before the Moloch of slavery. The day of such subserviency is past, never we hope, to return.

A leading Democrat in Boston, says the *Springfield Republican*, while standing at the polls and watching the voting in his Ward on election day, had the satisfaction of seeing no less than forty Lincoln votes cast by men whose taxes he had paid out of funds placed in his hands for that purpose by a committee of his party, in the expectation that they would all vote the McClellan ticket. He went to his home that night a sadder, if not a wiser, man.

The Constitutional Convention of Missouri will meet early in January, to sweep away every remnant of slavery in that State. The Blair plan of gradual emancipation has failed to satisfy the people. *Immediate* is the word in Missouri. The St. Louis *Democrat* thinks the Convention will be an able and highly practical body. Among its members are Messrs. Drake and Clover of St. Louis and Arnold Krekel of St. Charles—favorites with Radical men all over the State.

Abraham Lincoln made his first political speech in 1832, when he was a candidate for the Illinois Legislature. His opponent had wearied the audience by a long speech, leaving Mr. L. but a short time in which to present his views. He condensed all he had to say into a few words, as follows:

"Gentlemen, Fellow-citizens: I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like an old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected, I shall be thankful. If not, it will be all the same."

Says the Washington correspondent of the *Independent*:

"The President of the fourth of March, 1865, is not the man who came to power in 1861. The Abraham Lincoln of to-day is an Abolitionist, an Emancipator, and is ready to take still bolder strides toward radicalism, if it be necessary to save the country. On the question of the power of a President and the Congress to emancipate slaves, Mr. Davis is to-day in advance of Mr. Lincoln when he was inaugurated. There will be no hesitation now—when even the rebel Congress is deliberating upon the propriety of arming and emancipating the slave population of the South. If Congress is not expeditious in agreeing to the constitutional amendment, *I look for a second proclamation, freeing every slave in the Union, upon the ground of military necessity*."

The Springfield *Republican* thus exults in view of the election of Lincoln and Johnson:

"The reëlection of Mr. Lincoln decides that the war shall be prosecuted on the emancipation policy till the rebellion is suppressed. It does not determine that the war shall be prosecuted till slavery is absolutely destroyed. But the utter destruction of slavery was determined, nevertheless, by the elections on Tuesday. The gain of Republican members is sufficient to more than complete the two-thirds necessary to pass the Constitutional amendment abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery in every State. The amendment will be adopted by the next Congress, and the people will ratify it with eagerness and delight the moment they can get at it. Thus will slavery be legally and constitutionally abolished throughout the Union. This result of Tuesday's effort is even more important in its ultimate consequences than the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln. It is the crowning glory of the peaceful victory of the day. It is a triumph for all time. It settles the vexed question which has brought war, bloodshed and debt upon the nation, and precludes the possibility of another rebellion in behalf of slavery. The grand triumph is nearly completed. Let us thank God and push on."

At the Cooper Institute Union Jubilee meeting, the anti-slavery planks in the Baltimore platform were duly remembered and honored. Among the speakers was Capt. Noyes (formerly of Gen. Doubleday's Staff), who said:

"He thanked God that on the 8th of November the American people had decided that slavery must die, and that, in the words of the Baltimore platform, 'justice and the national safety demand the utter extirpation of slavery from the soil of the Republic.' The President had accepted that platform, and now he held the Administration absolutely responsible that slavery should die; for without the abolition of slavery there could be no true Union, nor could the broad fields of the South be fairly said to be in the Union, until, by the abolition of slavery, they were opened to the Northern settler or the emigrant from Europe" (cheers).

Gen. Wallbridge, on the same occasion, offered the following resolution, which was carried with great cheering:

"Resolved, That an amendment to the Federal Constitution forever interdicting slavery within the boundaries of the Republic is alike called for by patriotism, religion and a beneficent-statesmanship, and is in full accordance with the moral sentiments of the age."

The citizens of Beaufort, S. C., including those of "African descent," had a jolly time on the day of the Presidential election. Says the *Free South*:

"Last Tuesday a scene was witnessed in Beaufort which well might have made the bones of Calhoun stir in his coffin. In response to a notice signed on behalf of the 'State Executive Committee' polls were opened in the *Free South* building for the citizens and soldiers of other States, while those of South Carolina were invited to cast their votes at the Market House. No qualification was required save that the voter be twenty-one years of age. Printed tickets containing simply the names of the rival candidates were furnished. The polls were opened at 10 a.m. and closed at 4 p.m. At the Market House polls Mr. E. G. Dudley acted as inspector, and Mr. H. G. Judd as clerk; while at the *Free South* building Mr. J. G. Thompson and Lieut. Baldwin were chosen inspectors, and Mr. M. J. French, clerk.

"Most of the interest centered in the Market House poll. The colored people entered into the spirit of the thing with surprising enthusiasm. Most of them were unaware of the informal character of the proceeding, and were therefore not only eager to vote, but were anxious to give a large majority for Lincoln, whose name to them is synonymous with freedom. A man who attempted to deceive them with McClellan tickets was detected and rather rudely hustled, but not hurt. We wonder how much life would have been left in a black man who had attempted the same game in the Sixth Ward in New York city. The following is the result:

	Lincoln.	McClellan.
Free South Poll	269	31
Market House Poll	715	2
Total	975	33
Lincoln's majority	942	
Total vote cast	1,008	

"In the 102d Michigan polls were opened, and 20 votes cast for Lincoln; none for McClellan; the officers only voting.

In the evening, the people, gathered around the *Free South* building, were addressed by E. G. Dudley, J. G. Thompson, Lieut. Ketchum and others; and the excellent band of the 102d U. S. C. T. agreeably filled up the intervals of speeches. The gunboat John Adams was illuminated for the occasion.

Andrew Johnson made a speech lately at a flag-raising in Nashville. He said:

"He had always been a Democrat, but in the true sense. True Democracy meant the elevation of the masses. He was a Democrat, but at the same time an aristocrat; but his aristocracy was the aristocracy of labor, the men whose brains and muscles had planned and wrought out those great achievements that had made the laboring classes of America the true chivalry of the world. The men who sneered at 'greasy mechanics' and 'small-fisted farmers' as the 'mudsills of society,' were the very men who had not brains to conceive or ability to execute a plan. Labor was dignity, dignity is manhood, and manhood was aristocracy. Society was to-day in a chaotic state. The time had come to lay broad and deep the foundation of the new aristocracy, and by the blessing of God and the will of the laboring men it was to be done. As for emancipation, he could say he was for it. The institution of slavery must go down like all other iniquities, but he was not only for emancipating the black man, but for emancipating and elevating the white men of the country. The Democracy had prated of the 'Rail splitter' and the 'Boorish Tailor.' He had been a tailor, and was said to have been a good one; he made close fits, did his work well, got it done according to promise, and had the best class of customers. It used to be said it took nine tailors to make a man. Let them wait awhile, and they will learn that it took more than nine men of their stripe to make a tailor. The 'Railsplitter' and the 'Boorish Tailor' might some day have something to say about the affairs of the country."

PERSONAL.

Prof. Goldwin Smith made a visit, a few days since, to the Army of the Potomac, where he was the guest of Gen. Butler. He was in Washington on Monday, the guest of Secretary Seward.

The *World*—not very good authority—has a Washington telegram in the following words: "It is rumored in intelligent circles that Gen. Fremont's commission as Major-General will be restored to him, and that he will be ordered to the command of the Army of the James, in the place of Gen. Butler, when the latter shall be made Secretary of War. It is possible, however, that in the place of being returned to the field, Gen. Fremont may be sent to Paris."

The friends of Mrs. Elizabeth D. Sedgwick, of Lenox, wife of the late Charles Sedgwick, will be pained to hear of her death. She was long at the head of a young ladies' school which had a wide and deserved reputation, and which she continued to superintend to the close of her life, while suffering under the painful disease to which she fell a victim, and the severities of which she bore with great fortitude, not permitting them to interfere with the daily duties which she so ably performed.

Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, has been lecturing in Boston and other Eastern cities on "The Duties of Life." The Salem (Mass.) *Register* says: "It was refreshing and encouraging to hear a prominent man in public and political life advocate such high-toned moral sentiments as he advanced. Mr. Colfax was the guest of R. S. Rantoul, Esq., at whose residence, after the lecture, a large number of our citizens had an opportunity to be introduced to the distinguished speaker and enjoy the elegant hospitalities of the host."

Robert M'Tear, a sympathizer with the Slaveholders' Rebellion, having lately visited Garibaldi at Caprera, tells the following story:

"He (Garibaldi) expressed great regret at the continuance of the struggle in America, and said he did not believe the North honestly desired the extinction of slavery, or that the war was carried on for that end. It is a war for power and to satisfy wounded pride on their part, and has become a war of self-defence on the part of the South, which has shown the truest patriotic feeling and the finest generalship. He abhors slavery in every form and believes that it has received its death-blow in America. He denied, emphatically, that he ever offered his services to the Federals, and said he did not see how he could consistently interfere in the quarrel under these circumstances. Gen. Turr told me the same thing."

We do not believe that this is a true report of what Garibaldi said.

The Concord (N. H.) *Independent Democrat*, speaking of the lecture lately delivered in that place by the Hon. George Thompson, says:

"The contrast between the reception given Mr. Thompson in Concord in 1864, and that given him in 1835, is certainly striking and suggestive. In 1835, he was not allowed to be heard, and was hunted by a mob. In 1864, the largest audience ever assembled here, within doors, hung with rapt admiration upon his eloquent lips. Mr. Thompson in 1835 denounced slavery as only he can denounce it. In 1864, Mr. Thompson does the same. He has not changed, but the fashion of the times has. In 1835, the black cloud of slavery was coming up from the South, and was benighting the mind and heart of the North. In 1864, that cloud having grown blacker and blacker, has burst, and having well nigh spent its fury in the fierce lightnings and red deluge of war, is passing away, and the North restored and in her right mind, catches bright glimpses of sunlight through the breaking masses of accumulated blackness. The world moves. God bless George Thompson and others like him for helping move it."

Frederick Douglass spoke in Baltimore a few evenings since. Before leaving his home in Rochester he delivered a public address in which he said:

"What a wonderful change a few short years have wrought! I left Maryland a slave. I return to her a freeman! I left her a slave State. I return to find her clothed in her new garments of Liberty and Justice, a free State! My life has had two crises—the day on which I left Maryland, and the day on which I return. I expect to have a good old-fashioned visit, for I have not been there for a long time. I may meet my old master there, whom I have not seen for many years. I heard he was living only a short time ago, and he will be there, for he is on the right side. I made a convert of him years ago! He was a very good man, with a high sense of honor, and I have no malice to overcome in going back among those former slaveholders, for I used to think that we were all parts of one great social system, only we were at the bottom and they at the top! If the shackles were around our ankles, they were also on their necks. The Common Council and city authorities have promised to be present at the next meeting in Baltimore. I shall be glad to see them. I shall return to them with freedom in my hand, and point to her free Constitution, and as the olive branch was a sign that the waters of the flood were retiring, so will the freedom which I shall find there be a sign that the billows of slavery are rolling back to leave the land blooming again in the purer air of Liberty and Justice."

Sojourner Truth has had an interview with President Lincoln. The following account we copy from the Rochester *Express*. The writer, we infer, is Mrs. Lucy N. Coleman:

"Sojourner Truth (whom everybody knows) is in the city, having come here expressly to visit Mr. Lincoln, and express to him her thanks for his proclamation freeing so many of her race. I have known Sojourner for a long time, and it seemed very natural that I should be the one chosen by her to introduce her to the White House. I considered myself very fortunate in being able to obtain an interview, as really my business could not be considered urgent, and then I had not the claim to his attention, which was very strongly made in my presence, and of which I will speak by-and-by, 'that I had voted for him.' I had done no such thing, and if my sex did not prohibit me from that privilege, I could not have even promised to vote for him. Nevertheless, our President received me and the woman whom I went to introduce, with real politeness and a pleasing cordiality. I am not going to describe Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance, for that sort of thing has been done a thousand times. To say that he is the most awkward man in the nation is nothing in itself—awkwardness or grace are of the smallest moment just now. What we want is resolute and determined action, and in that short interview with Mr. Lincoln I became convinced that, whatever may have been the former delinquencies of the President, he has now come to the conclusion to act. Sojourner delivered to him her thanks for what he had done for her people, saying at the same time, that he was the only President who had done anything for them. Mr. Lincoln rejoined, 'and the only one who ever had such opportunity. Had our friends in the South behaved themselves I could have done nothing whatever.' Honest! was it not? Well, honesty has always been awarded to the President. We were shown the Bible which was presented to Mr. Lincoln by the colored people of Baltimore, and altogether the visit was quite satisfactory."

Gen. Grant came to New York on Saturday last on private business, and departed again for the front on Monday. The daily papers, by his particular request, refrained from announcing his arrival, and consequently the people generally were ignorant of his visit until after his departure. The *Times* of Tuesday says:

"To those whom he honored by receiving them at his rooms, his manner was cheerful, his conversation hopeful, and his views of the situation most assuring. No one can hear him talk without being profoundly impressed with the force of a character combining immense power with the most unassuming modesty. His presence fascinates, his eye magnetizes you, and you cannot look in his face, listen to his few calm, quiet words, and go away doubting that Grant is master of the situation, and knows it. To a gentleman of this city he said, on Sunday afternoon: '*The Southern Confederacy is a mere shell. I know it. I am sure of it.* It is a hollow shell, and Sherman will prove it to you.' The calm, modest consciousness of power with which this was said, more than the words themselves, conveyed to his visitor an unqualified conviction of the truth of the General's remarks. In answer to a question whether, in his opinion, ninety days would bring the end, he said, with a grim smile: 'I am not a ninety-day man, but we shall see what will happen in six months.' The significance of these words from the Commander-in-Chief of our armies, with the sense of his knowledge of and power over the whole subject which his manner imports, cannot be underrated. Gen. Grant knows and believes what he says, and he is not accustomed to express his views without due consideration. From the movement of Gen. Sherman it is evident he expects great results, and in the success of his operations he has the most perfect confidence. Although few had the pleasure of seeing him, yet he so impressed those few with his own hopefulness that they cannot help reiterating the cry of the Veteran Union Club and the prayer of all loyal men, 'God bless you, General; God bless you!'"

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21st, 1864.

RUMORS of peace have filled Washington for a week, until men who at first scoffed at them are now credulous. The simple truth is, that, so far as *facts* are concerned, there is nothing upon which any one can predicate a respectable supposition that peace is at hand. I am very well aware that a man who will hazard predictions in such times as these runs great risks, and perhaps unnecessary ones; but I am quite willing to stake the little reputation which I possess (if I have any) by the prediction that the war will last for a year longer, and that some of the hardest fighting of the war will take place in the year 1865. We are a people of immense impulses and immense delusions, and when I see the entire loyal press talking of peace, as if the war was at an end, I fear the reaction, the depression and dejection consequent upon a clear perception of the real situation.

What are the facts? Simply that the military situation is most promising. No Commissioners will be sent to Richmond to offer new terms of peace—the very idea is preposterous. The President may, in due course of time, issue a proclamation to the rebels, after the campaign is closed, but they will refuse his terms. He will insist upon unconditional submission to the government and the freedom of the slave population. The rebel leaders will try another campaign before acceding to such conditions. Even if Sherman is successful in every respect, and Grant should take Petersburg, the war is not at an end—it will go on for another year. I do not say this to discourage, but to prevent dejection hereafter, when the present campaign is closed and the peace rumors dissolve into nothing.

The military situation was never more hopeful than at the present moment, but no sane man has any right to jump to the conclusion that the war is therefore closed, or near its end. A great deal is expected from Gen. Sherman, and if his perilous expedition to the seacoast is a success, it will give the Rebel Confederacy a terrible blow. Gen. Grant has gone to Burlington, N. J., to see his family for a few days, and it looks as if active movements in the Army of the Potomac could not be expected immediately. In other respects the situation is encouraging. The tumble in the gold speculation gives much pleasure to the loyal people of this vicinity. It was caused partially by the rumors of peace, and partly by rumors of a change in the financial policy of the government. The Copperhead speculators who rushed to buy gold at 250 on the strength of Mr. Lincoln's reëlection, expecting to see coin go to a premium of 300 this Winter, have been bitten very badly. Every secession sympathizer in Washington that I have met predicted untold financial disasters if Mr. Lincoln was reëlected. Some of them risked large sums of money (I hear) on this belief of theirs, and this is probably true of the same class of persons in other parts of the country. It is a very wholesome medicine for these gentlemen to take, and the larger the dose the better for them.

The President and his Secretaries are very busy preparing for Congress. The Message is expected to be a very important one, as the idea of a proclamation to the rebels will be (it is thought) alluded to in it. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury is looked for with much interest. It is rumored here that Mr. Fessenden has come to the conclusion that the war cannot be carried on with gold at 250 for any great length of time, without plunging the country into distress that would be almost insupportable. Hence he is determined to institute measures calculated to put down the premium on coin, and keep it down. It looks now as if no more gold bonds were to be issued, but instead an eight or ten per cent. currency-interest loan. It is strange that the government does not put the new loan into the hands of a good, staunch banking-house, like Jay Cooke & Co., of Philadelphia. They sold five hundred million of the five-twenty bonds in a short time, and their sales, which were constant, steadied the price of coin and gave a stability to business that it has not since felt. There are banking-houses that will undertake to sell two million per day of the 7-30 currency bonds, if the government will commit the whole business into their hands. The government already has completely broken down in the business. It can't sell a thousand dollars worth of these bonds to-day, and for the simple reason that it has, in a certain sense, broken faith with the people. It put the currency bonds before the country with the understanding that no gold bonds were to be issued; but, after thirty or forty million of the currency bonds, a large lot of gold bonds were sold at public auction. The last lot sold below par, and, of course, since then there has been no demand for *currency* bonds. This was mismanagement of a singular character, and the result is that Mr. Fessenden is driven to adopt new measures. It may be his policy (as has been intimated already in the daily papers) to provide an outlet of Southern cotton, paying greenbacks therefor. It is contended by leading financiers that we shall gain more by the free sale of cotton than the South can, but I doubt it. The stipulation would be that the cotton should be sold *to us* and not to foreigners. It is admitted that a free sale of cotton in this manner would undoubtedly keep gold at 150. It could not rise above that figure with cotton constantly going to Europe from New York. There are almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of such a project; but it is stated on very respectable authority that the President is determined to try it rather than submit to the enormous prices which obtain with gold at 250.

The President's speech to the delegation of Marylanders, who called on him Thursday afternoon, is the best thing yet from him. It is thoroughly emancipation in tone. You will notice that it is rid entirely of Mr. Lincoln's former notions respecting *gradual* emancipation. He has come to the conclusion, I judge, that emancipation, to be good for anything now, must be *instant, immediate*. Perhaps he is right in his idea that as a matter of expediency a certain compensation should be made by the State. I presume that if the new Constitution (in Maryland) had provided for a moderate compensation, it would have been adopted by at least ten thousand majority on the home vote. This being true, it might have been wise, as a measure of expediency solely, to have given $100 per slave to each holder. The anti-slavery men in Maryland were very determined, however, upon this point. They argued that two-thirds of the slave-owners in the State are rebel sympathizers, and that on no account would they consent that such men should be *paid* to do justice to the men they have so long despoiled of all their rights. Slavery is finished in Maryland. Gen. Wallace's recent order has put the final blow to the roots. The former slaveholders of the lower Counties now give up in despair, and are trying to do the best they can to get labor as cheap as possible. They are combining together to compel the colored people to take low wages. No doubt a little legislation is necessary to protect the colored people, and also to give security to such white planters as are willing to treat the former slave population kindly and generously. It is far better for the negroes to hire by the year, even if their wages are less than they would be by the day. Hiring by the day is productive of laziness, whether among whites or blacks, and if emancipation is to prove an immediate material success, the colored people should be encouraged to hire by the year to their former masters, if they will give *fair* wages.

AVON.

THE TWO PROCLAMATIONS.—Gov. Seymour's Thanksgiving Proclamation was of a coppery hue, suggestive of sackcloth and ashes rather than of sentiments of praise and joy. On Sunday morning, the Rev. Dr Thompson of the Tabernacle Church, after reading it to his congregation, said: "Those who find their feelings best expressed by *this* Proclamation will, we trust, observe the day as herein indicated, and, we hope, to their profit. *This* house, however, will be opened for *Thanksgiving* in accordance with the following Proclamation." He then read President Lincoln's Proclamation, and added: "This house will be opened at 10½ o'clock on the morning of Thursday next. Subject of the Discourse: 'How to Build a Nation,' we having decided that we *are* a nation, and will not die."

LETTER FROM A COLORED SOLDIER.

HEADQUARTERS 3D U. S. C. T.,
JACKSONVILLE, FLA., Nov. 4, 1864.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

As my time has been leisurely spent during the day, I thought I would seat myself to indite a few lines for your valuable paper, which seems almost a stranger in these parts; although a stray sheet finds its way to the domicile in which I reside, and which I read with much pleasure. The proximity of the election fills many a mind with gladness, and ere this reaches you the step towards the immediate destiny of this rebellion will have been taken, viz.,—the reëlection of "Uncle Abe." It, undoubtedly, is a settled question that this rebellion must terminate soon, but I say never let it conclude until Traitors, Slavery, Disunion and all such infamy be eradicated from among us, and in their stead appear Liberty, Justice, and Union.

The country appears as dear in the heart of the colored man as it does to the white, but his rights have long been wrested from him. Why not give him his rights and liberty? Does he not deserve them? Has he not proved his valor and ability? Certainly he has. Do not the sands of Virginia and Florida, and other States, bear testimony as to the stain of their blood, where they fought side by side with undaunted courage and intrepidity, and where their blood, mingling with that of the white man, flowed and drenched the land? Yet there is doubt as to their qualification to become citizens. They have done this and more, and are still willing to do a greater part to annihilate and crush this unholy rebellion. Use discretion, and they will still prove themselves men. The aggressors in this rebellion are getting tired and wish for a cessation of hostilities, but we should never grant their demands, but force them to submit to the laws. Union we want, and Union we must have; and as the hour flies, I must, with the rest, proceed to do my duty; and if I perish in the attempt, I can exclaim, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (It is sweet and honorable to die for one's country). Hoping none of your many readers will criticise this letter, I will conclude by saying I will, in some future time insert (with your consent) a few more words. I am, sir, respectfully yours,

W. R. E., 3d. U. S. C. T.

FREE MARYLAND!

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MARYLAND, my native State, is free. Once the freest of Colonies, may she yet be the freest of States. No more auction blocks, slave pens, or negro droves shall pollute her soil, which was once called the garden of America, and may yet be again. The Secession party in her borders are gnashing their teeth with rage for the adoption of the new Constitution, and are venting their malignity in various ways towards our colored friends. They have burned down three Methodist Episcopal churches recently, belonging to the colored Methodists; one in New Town, Worcester County, one in Salisbury (both the same night), and one in Somerset County. I learn that Gen. Wallace, in Baltimore, talks of levying a sufficient amount on the Secessionists to build one or more of them. I hope he will make them go in the woods, cut the timber, saw it, and then build the churches. Your friend,

Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1864. J. D. Long.

THANKSGIVING IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE noble Military Governor of South Carolina issued the following proclamation at Beaufort on the 5th inst:

BEAUFORT, S. C., Nov. 5th, 1864.

To the Freedmen in the Department of the South:

The President of the United States has appointed Thursday, the 24th day of November, to be a day of public thanksgiving and praise. In accordance with his proclamation, I advise you all to refrain as much as possible on that day from your ordinary avocations, and meet in your respective places of worship to render thanks to Almighty God for the continued blessings which he has vouchsafed to you during the past year. Your harvests have been abundant, and have been raised and gathered without the sound of the driver's whip and horn in these fair fields, which have been for so many years the scene of your toil, sorrow and degradation—so long, that scarcely a vestige of your humanity or manhood seemed left. Thank the Lord that in these early days of your journeyings towards the promised land of liberty, He has sent kind friends to guide you in the paths of knowledge, where in slavery you could not go. Thank the Lord that your sons and husbands and brothers have been enrolled under the Star-spangled Banner, and have struck brave blows for Liberty and Humanity. Praise Him for the glorious successes of our armies in the field fighting for Freedom and the Union. The golden mellow light which now brightens the dawning future and bids us hope for another four years of freedom or war, gives promise that a mighty nation will soon say at the ballot-box, "Liberty and Union forever," "You are forever free!" and if so, you can thank God for the reëlection of Abraham Lincoln.

In the free North, where the Pilgrim fathers lived, and taught their descendants to love liberty and hate oppression, the now time-honored custom was established and handed down by them, to meet at the close of the year, when the harvests were all gathered in, to thank God for all his mercies, to settle the balance between duties performed and neglected, and, guided by the failures of the past, to pray for strength and progress for the future. Year after year, as he read the Governor's proclamation to the assembled people, the minister has been seen to close the book, and with reverent face, as if his soul was in his prayer, repeat its closing words, "God save the Commonwealth."

Although the foot-prints of liberty in South Carolina are only found on the sands of these Sea Islands, and are kept there by cannon, still let us also add it here, and say from our hearts, "God save the Commonwealth of South Carolina."

R. SAXTON,
Brig.-Gen. and Military Governor.

OBITUARY.

WILLIAM JACKSON.

AMONG the many of our early and long-tried friends who have left the scene of their earthly activities, WILLIAM JACKSON is one whose name calls for more than a merely formal obituary. He died at Harmony Grove, his ancestral residence, in Chester County, Pa., on the 29th ult., after a painful and lingering illness, aged nearly seventy-five years.

His anti-slavery career was identified with that of the "Clarkson Society," which, from the beginning of the great anti slavery agitation to the present time, has worked unceasingly for the deliverance of the slave and the freedom of the country. Before that time he was a member of the State Senate, and his acknowledged abilities and attainments seemed to open before him the path of political advancement. But the exceeding injustice of slavery and the conviction that it must destroy the country or be itself destroyed, moved his soul; and sacrificing personal ambition, he gave much of the energy of his life to anti-slavery work, as well as to other means for elevating the standard of society. The newspapers of the county were frequently made the vehicles of his communications. By his researches into questions of political economy, by statistical reports and appeals to the people in various ways, he strove to interest and enlighten them in regard to the great issues of the times. "He lived long enough," writes one who was with him, "to know that Maryland was to be a free State, and to rejoice in the sublime fact; but the sun that ushered in her slaves' deliverance shone softly over his open grave."

The great interests of freedom in the country and the condition of the Border States, occupied his thoughts much during his illness, and even within the last few days of his life, when his mind wandered, he seemed to be dwelling upon the subjects so long dear to his heart, repeating such words as "justice," "right," "the best interests of the country."

Having inherited, with an extensive garden, the taste and skill of his father, who was a fellow-laborer with those early botanists of Pennsylvania, Bartram and Marshall, he found among trees and flowers a loved and congenial occupation. Thus spending much time in horticultural labors, temperate in his habits, and needing no excitement beyond the society of his family, his friends and his books, he husbanded the resources of a delicate constitution, which had early given evidence of breaking down, and retained a comfortable degree of health and vigor through more than three score years and ten. In his family and neighborhood, William Jackson was truly a rare model of excellence. Modest and retiring in his disposition, fond of study and philosophical investigation, serene and moderate in the motions of his soul, wise and discriminating, inflexibly just, he was reverenced as a true counsellor and a superior man.

It was a privilege to visit him during his illness, and witness his uncomplaining patience under great suffering, his meekness and sweetness of spirit. Mere creed and outward forms were nothing to him, and yet the writer of this sketch has never been more thrilled and uplifted with the consciousness that God and goodness are over all, making death and suffering but secondary things, than when sitting in the sick room of this revered friend.

One by one our anti-slavery friends are becoming clothed with the beautiful garments of immortality; but while we weep, beholding their vacant places, let us rejoice that they have been so true and faithful in their day, and "bringing their sheaves with them," have entered into their celestial rest. F.

—*Chester Co.* (*Pa*) *Times.*

CAUSE OF THE FREEDMEN.—A large and enthusiastic meeting of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, was held in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on Monday evening last. Bishop Potter presided, and addresses were delivered by him, by Rev. Phillips Brooks, Reuben Tomlinson, William F. Mitchell, and Prof. C. D. Cleveland. We shall publish the full report of these addresses next week. On next Monday evening, W. F. Mitchell and J. M. McKim will address a similar meeting in Pittsburgh.

CLOTHING FOR POOR CHILDREN.

To the Editor of the National Anti Slavery Standard.

WE beg to remind your readers that we are greatly in need of clothing for the thousands of poor children who come under our charge. Old clothes will be thankfully received and sent for if the address be forwarded.

J. MACY, Asst. Sec.

Children's Aid Society, Clinton Hall, Astor Place.

REBEL TALK ABOUT ARMING THE SLAVES.—We invite particular attention to the articles collated under this head on the first page. Some of the rebels, it seems, are willing, in their desperation, to fill up their armies with slaves, and to offer them freedom as the reward of their fidelity and bravery; but it is plain that the cooler heads dare not risk such a measure. True, they generally pretend to believe that the slaves are their friends and ready to take up arms in their defence; but their talk reveals an underlying consciousness that these pretences are hollow.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The Office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed to the Stationery Store of T. E. Chapman, No. 5 South-Fifth street.

Money received on account of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD and forwarded to the publication office at New York as usual. Single numbers of the STANDARD for sale only at the Book Store of T. B. Pugh, South-west corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets. See his advertisement.

Office hours from 10 a.m. till 2 p.m.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Cor. Sec'y.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

SHERMAN MARCHING INTO THE HEART OF THE CONFEDERACY.

The report, mentioned last week, that Gen. Sherman, with a large force, was marching from Atlanta into the heart of Georgia toward some point on the coast, is confirmed. The army left Atlanta in two columns, one on the 9th and the other on the 12th, moving eastward, the former via Macon, and the other directly toward Augusta. The first column, on the 13th or 14th inst., was seventy miles in advance, driving everything before it, and destroying everything behind that could aid the enemy, and intending to pursue this policy to the end. The other column set out three or four days later. The Washington correspondent of the *Times* says:

"Sherman has five corps of veteran infantry—the Fourteenth and Twentieth of the Army of the Cumberland, and the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth of the Army of the Tennessee, consisting in all of over 50,000 men. He has 9,000 picked cavalry, under Kilpatrick, and has thirty days' rations for man and beast. He goes finely equipped in every particular. His scout system and courier line is so complete as to guard against the possibility even of a failure. The country through which he goes is abundantly supplied with meats and bread, and is a sandy country, traversed by but few streams. If it rains a week on a stretch, it dries up or soaks down into the clay in a few hours. After arriving at Macon, he will probably go to Milledgeville, where he will divide his army, sending a part of it to Savannah, and a part to Augusta. He will fortify the latter place, and after receiving supplies up the Savannah river, he will be able to move on Columbia or Charleston. The programme, if carried out successfully, completely demolishes the railroad system of the State of Georgia. The Western and Atlantic, running from Chattanooga to Atlanta, one hundred and thirty-eight miles, is almost totally destroyed. It will take a year to rebuild it, with no inconvenience in obtaining iron. The Georgia Railroad (a State institution, as is also the Western and Atlantic, and to which the Confederacy is indebted many millions of dollars), running from Atlanta to Augusta, 171 miles, is destroyed from Atlanta to Covington, 41 miles. The occupation of Augusta will add to its destruction. The Macon and Western Railroad, running from Atlanta to Macon, 102 miles, is entirely destroyed. The Georgia Central Railroad, running from Macon to Savannah, is 191 miles, and this will no doubt receive Sherman's attention in a few days. From Augusta to Charleston, is 137 miles. From Augusta to Columbia, S. C., it is 141 miles by rail. Most of all the manufactories for shot, shell, fixed ammunition, and cannon are at Macon, Augusta and Columbia. Half the powder the rebels use is made near Augusta."

The rebels are wholly unprepared for this bold movement, and it is difficult to see how they can concentrate a force sufficient to baffle it. The army under Hood is in Northern Alabama, where it will find plenty to do in keeping out of the way of Gen. Thomas, and the militia of Georgia is wholly inadequate to resist Sherman's army of veterans. The Richmond papers affect to be jolly in view of the situation, but we have no doubt that the whole Confederacy is in a fearful state of apprehension and alarm.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

THE SOUTHERN NEGROES ON CONSCRIPTION.

A correspondent of the *Herald*, writing "before Richmond, Nov. 5," gives an account of a raid into the rebel lines by a small party from the Tenth Army Corps. He says:

"One point of great interest to us is the feeling found to be prevalent among the negroes in regard to the rebels conscripting them. An opportunity was given them to come with our party, and they were told that they would be conscripted by the rebels if they remained; but they preferred to remain, saying they never would be forced into the army, and were determined to resist the conscription to the death. They are thoroughly prepared. The impression given to our officers is that the rebels will have a fine time in placing the negroes in their army, when they have settled upon that policy. As far as placing Virginia negroes in the rebel army is concerned, no doubt is felt now that it will prove an entire failure. Let them try it, and they will find a slight mistake has been made in their calculations which they have not made provision for."

NEGRO SENTIMENT ABOUT FIGHTING FOR THE REBELS.

From the Boston Journal.

Lieut. Henry L. Estabrook, of Dorchester, belonging to the Twenty-sixth Massachusetts regiment, who was captured by the enemy during Sheridan's first battle with Early in the Shenandoah Valley, at Berryville, on the 19th of September, but who has been fortunate enough to escape from captivity, has communicated to us a very interesting account of his experiences while in the enemy's country. After his capture he was marched, together with thirteen other captured Union officers and about two hundred and fifty soldiers, to Staunton, from thence taken to Waynesboro' by cars, then marched over the Blue Ridge to Meacham River Station, and from that point conveyed by cars to Richmond, a distance altogether of one hundred and twenty miles, sixty of which was performed on foot. Great hardships were cruelly imposed upon them during this journey. Only six hard crackers and half a loaf of soft bread was allowed to each man for the whole time, and the marching bore severely upon all, while some suffered terribly from sore feet and from the wounds which they had received in battle and which remained undressed. Some of the men would drop in the road from sheer exhaustion, when the rebels struck them with their muskets and compelled them to rise, but only to stagger along a short distance and fall again, faint from pain, fatigue and loss of blood. Early's army, as it retreated from Sheridan after the battle, was a mere rabble, all organization was lost, and there was no unity except in seeking safety in the same direction. The rebel who took Lieut. Estabrook prisoner robbed him of his watch on the spot.

Lieut. Estabrook informs us that the country through which he passed is very scantily supplied with the necessaries of life, and the people look forward with great apprehension to the coming Winter, not knowing how they are to avoid much suffering. The drought was very severe, and the meat has been all swept off for the use of the rebel army. Planters go many miles and offer any price to obtain meat for their families, but cannot get any. The people are disheartened and thoroughly tired of the war. Every man and boy that can carry a musket has been conscripted. The negroes everywhere befriended him; although the fact that he was an escaped Yankee prisoner was probably known to two hundred colored people including the families of the men who helped him along, not one of them betrayed him. The slaves, of whom there are many in that section of country, conversed freely with him in regard to their being armed and put in the rebel army, and declared that if they were they would shoot their officers and go over to the Federals in a body. They said they knew who their friends were, and they would not fight for the men who had enslaved them and robbed them of the rewards of their labor. They assured him that there was a complete understanding among the slaves throughout the South on this subject, and that none of them would fight for their masters. They would be glad of an opportunity to get arms and get together, and then they would turn against the rebels.

THE COLORED TROOPS.

The Lynn (Mass.) *Reporter* says: Col. A. G. Draper, of the 36th Regiment United States Colored Volunteers, but now in command of the 2d Brigade, 3d Division, 18th Army Corps, writes to the Hon. John B. Alley in regard to the conduct of the colored troops under his command in the recent action near Chapin's Farm, where the corps is now located. We have been permitted to make the following extract from Col. Draper's letter, and we believe no one who reads it will hereafter say, if they ever have said, that black soldiers will not fight. Col. Draper says:

"On the morning of the 20th ult. the entire 10th Corps remained in reserve at a safe distance from the enemy's works at New Market Heights. The 3d Brigade of Paine's division was first sent in to charge the enemy's works. They got within twenty or thirty yards of them, and were repulsed with very heavy loss. My brigade of three regiments was then sent in alone, and without support, to charge the same works. We succeeded, after a desperate struggle. We had to charge over eight hundred yards of open ground, under a very heavy fire. The brigade went in at double-quick, with loud shouts. Within thirty yards of the rebel entrenchments we found a swamp, with a creek, which the men had to wade through, after which came slashed timber and a palisade of sharpened stakes. The creek broke our charge, as those who first waded across waited for the others to come up; some of the raw recruits also commenced firing, and the firing soon became general, making so much noise that it was impossible for the men to hear the orders. For half an hour we were under this terrible fire, our left being within twenty yards, and our right within forty yards of the rebel works. During all this time our men were falling by scores, yet not a man went to the rear. Both officers and men displayed the greatest fortitude. At length, after this terrible suspense, we succeeded. By a previous understanding the surviving officers set up the charging yell, and waved their swords for the men to follow. The men took up the yell, rallied round their colors, and went over the works like a whirlwind. At this juncture a rebel officer, to encourage his men, leaped upon the breastwork, waved his sword, and exclaimed: 'Hurrah, my brave men!' Private James Gardiner, 36th United States Colored Volunteers, instantly rushed in advance of his brigade, shot the officer, and put his bayonet through him to the muzzle. The rebels, thus driven from their works, made another stand in the woods in the rear, but were quickly driven out by a second charge. The troops we drove from the works were Gregg's Texas brigade, and (I think) a portion of Gary's cavalry division, dismounted. Our loss was seventeen officers and about five hundred and fifty men, killed and wounded, out of about thirteen hundred. I had but thirty-two line officers in the brigade. Of these, fourteen were killed and wounded; also, two of my staff and one of my orderlies. I do not believe that the history of this war will show another example of a charging line remaining without shelter half an hour within twenty or thirty yards of an enemy's works, subjected to a heavy fire, and finally rallying and carrying the works. I am informed that the burying party the next morning took out of the swamp and buried, one hundred and ninety-two bodies, and that they afterwards took thirty-two more from the creek. So much for the despised black man. The loss in our division that day was twelve hundred men—only two brigades out of three being in the assault. As soon as my brigade had taken the lines at Signal Hill, the rebel battery at New Market Hill limbered up and retreated, with their supports, whereupon the 10th Corps marched in without opposition.

"I glory in the black troops; I do not believe that their superiors can be found in this or any other army."

BRAVE CONDUCT OF COLORED TROOPS.

Correspondence of the Phila. Press.

HEADQUARTERS 3D DIVISION, 18TH CORPS,
BEFORE RICHMOND, Nov. 3, 1864.

One week ago to-day, had the officers under command of Col. Holman, who led the 1st Colored Brigade, 3d Division, 18th Corps, against the enemy's works and occupied them, obeyed his commands, we should have won a victory that would have thrilled every loyal heart. That it may be fully understood how a great advantage was lost, and in what direction the responsibility rests, I subjoin an account of the manœuvering of the brigade, which consisted of the 1st, 22d, and 37th U. S. Colored Troops, the last-named being drawn up in close column by division as reserves. The 22d was formed in line of battle, with the 1st on its right, when what appeared to be about fifteen hundred rebel cavalry appeared in sight. The 37th was deployed to divert their attention. Immediately, the 1st and 22d marched through a woods which were near by the left flank at a double quick, with the intention of assaulting a rebel battery which was shelling Gen. Weitzel's line with some effect. The enemy now opened two guns upon Col. Holman's right, which caused him to march the regiments back again by the right flank at a double quick. He then gave the order to move by the right flank, which was parallel with the enemy's works, and when he was ready to assault he marched by the left flank. This order not being fully understood by the company commanders of the 22d, the regiment was thrown into confusion at a critical moment. The first, and about half of the second company, moved off correctly by the left flank, while the others marched by the right of companies to the front, which destroyed the line. Instead of halting to rectify this misunderstanding, the charge was made, the 1st regiment striking the enemy's works at one point, while the 22d rushed at another, each one at too great a distance to lend any support to the other. The 22d did not quite reach the works, and, after a stubborn resistance of the veterans of that regiment, it was obliged to fall back, though not defeated, and far from being demoralized. The 1st was far more successful. It stormed and captured the enemy's works, a battery, and some few prisoners, and was preparing to charge down the interior of his line, when a heavy cavalry force was thrown against it, driving it back. Had it not been for the mistake of the 22d, we would not only have been met, but would have been roughly handled, and sent back in confusion.

The recommendation of Gen. Butler to appoint Col. Alonzo G. Draper a brevet brigadier-general, for gallantly carrying his colored brigade across the enemy's works at Spring Hill, with fixed bayonets, on the 29th of September, has been approved by the President, and that title has been conferred.

Col. E. Wright, the excellent commander of the 10th U. S. Colored Troops, has been assigned to the command of the 2d Brigade, 3d Division, 10th Corps. This campaign is not ended yet. ROLLIN.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

It is a well-known fact that the 54th Massachusetts Regiment was not paid for so many months, that the dissatisfaction of the men became extreme. They remembered their services on the battle-field, and believed that the government treated them with injustice. In October last they were paid in full. The following extract from a letter, from an officer of the regiment to a gentleman in Philadelphia, describes the effect of this tardy fulfilment of a contract, and will be read with much interest:

"Yesterday, the 29th, was a triumphant day for the 54th Massachusetts. The anxiety of eighteen months, the depressing effect of long delay, ended yesterday in—money!

"Yesterday the 54th was paid every cent for which they have morally fought since we left Readville. Payment had got to be such a myth that greenbacks were hardly recognizable when brought before the eyes of the men. What an effect it had upon them! for a deep-set suspicion of the success of their efforts and of the fulfilment of our promises had possessed them. They began to think they were deceived—were sullen, had lost faith.

"They could not fail to see anxiety in us, who with difficulty sustained cheerfulness. To face a row of disheartened men several times daily, to know their distress, and measure it with their deserts, to teach them lessons of patience, to punish the turbulent, and restore the tone of the regiment, was an exhausting task. From this hopeless state they were lifted into one of delight. It was like the apparition of a man's self in a more perfect state. There were the three officials with two hundred thousand in their big safe. They felt they were men; they were recognized; their status as soldiers was gained! 'I can send money home at last to my wife, my child!' Forty thousand dollars were at once sent home by the regiment, through the Adams Express. Think of the effect upon their families! The Col. Shaw monument fund was largely subscribed to

"We had been eighteen months waiting, and the kaleidoscope was turned. Nine hundred men received their money. Nine hundred stories rested in the faces of those men as they passed in at one door and out at the other. Wagner stared Readville in the face! There was use in patience! Two days have changed the face of things, and now a pretty carnival prevails. The fiddle and other music, long neglected, enlivens the tents day and night. Songs burst out everywhere—dancing is incessant; boisterous shouts are heard; mimicry, burlesque, and comical, pompous salutations are seen on all sides. Here, a crowd and a preacher; there, a crowd and two boxers; yonder, feasting and jubilee. In brief, they have awakened 'the pert and nimble spirit of mirth, and turned melancholy forth to funerals.'"

COWARDLY, SHAMEFUL TREACHERY.

The Chattanooga correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, writing of Hood's recent raid, and the wanton surrender of a regiment of colored troops, has the following paragraph. How coolly is the dastardly act narrated:

"The 44th colored regiment surrendered. No, it didn't. I take back the statement as a libel on brave men. The 44th colored regiment *was* surrendered at Dalton without firing a single shot. I will not speak of that disgraceful affair now, but content myself with saying that, although I know the Colonel, and have no unkindly feeling toward him, and have heard some of the officers describe the affair, I deliberately characterize it as discreditable to its commander. Maj.-Gen. Thomas, after hearing ex-parte evidence, has exonerated him; but that fact does not satisfy the friends of the poor men, loyal all, and all desirous to fight, who have been captured and returned to slavery."

BLACK UNION SOLDIERS RETURNED TO SLAVERY.

A correspondent of the *Southern Confederacy*, writing from Blue Mountain, Ala., Oct. 24, says:

The first negro soldiers ever captured by the Army of the Tennessee were also brought through here to-day. They wore the Yankee uniform and seemed to step with some regularity. Most of them were young fellows. They were captured at Dalton. Some of them found their masters in the army and remained with them. The able-bodied among them will be put to work on fortifications and to driving wagons. The weaklier ones, who are not able for hard labor on public works, will be turned over to farmers living through the country, to feed and clothe them for their services until they can be returned to their real owners.

Yesterday evening last I went to the place where they were encamped, being influenced to do so by the expectation of meeting some old acquaintance, and a curiosity to see some of their actions as soldiers wearing the uniform of a great government. It was a very different scene from any I had ever witnessed. There was nothing to laugh at. A man with any humanity could not look upon them with any other than feelings of the deepest pity; not on account of any lack of clothes, for these were well enough, but all the peculiarities of right belonging to the race, especially when assembled together in a crowd, were gone. No songs, nor dancing, nor any sign of mirth or gladness, and their manner of getting along in camp showed their utter lack of contrivance peculiar to soldiers.

They were making up bread, many of them, for supper. The dough was generally "made up" in their cups. Those I talked with said they were glad to get back home, but their wasted faces gave no confirmatory token. Many of them had never been paid anything, and the most any of them had received was six dollars since they were taken to Chattanooga. I send you below a list of those belonging to parties in Georgia as far as I was able to obtain them. Many of them were from Tennessee and other States, but no opportunity was allowed to get the names of all:

George, belonging to John Brown, Gordon County; Eli Peeler, belonging to John Summon, Dawson County; Mitchell, Alfred, Anthony, Sam, belonging to James Morris, Fanin County; Washington, belonging to John Butt, Union County; Shakspeare, belonging to Mariat Davis, White County; Hubbard, belonging to Haden Pryor, Polk County; Adam, belonging to Wm. Worthey, Whitfield County; Frank, belonging to Joseph McCullough, Cherokee County; John, belonging to Francis Boman, Barton County; Harry, belonging to Mary Ware, Jackson County; Reuben, belonging to Wm. Smith, Hall County; Robert, belonging to Samuel Sewell, Campbell County; Mack, belonging to Perry Harper, Chattooga County; Bill, belonging to James Boseman, Gordon County; William, belonging to Bird Sexton, Cobb County.

[The Commander, of the Army of the Tennessee should at once take measures to obtain official information of the fate of these soldiers, and if the above story is confirmed, as it no doubt would be, he should retaliate upon rebel prisoners in his hands.]

Summary.

The citizens of Lowell, Mass., have purchased a sword for Gen. Butler, at a cost of seven hundred dollars.

WOMEN AS VOTERS.—The journals of Moravia state that the government of that province has decided that widows who pay taxes have a right to vote in municipal elections.

Mr. Mason Jones, who has returned to England from a tour in the United States, is about to deliver a series of orations on the "Past, Present and Future of the American War," in various parts of London.

LADY CLERKS.—The Commandant of the Confederate States Arsenal at Fayetteville, N. C., has inaugurated the system of employing female clerks to do the work of men detailed for the purpose. Two of the young ladies of Fayetteville are now engaged as clerks at this arsenal.

Commodore Winslow, of the Kearsarge, made a speech, election day, in Roxbury, Mass. He had just voted for Lincoln and Johnson, and believed, though a Southern man, that the Emancipation policy was right. He had himself inherited some thirty slaves, whom he had long ago emancipated—a record which outshines even the sinking of the Alabama.

TOBACCO.—A temperance society in Massachusetts recently adopted a resolution declaring "that we are pained to learn that some of the best lands of fertile districts in the Northern States are turned from the cultivation of food for man and beast to the cultivation of tobacco, as it must issue in the exhaustion of the soil, the impoverishment of the farmer, and the demoralization of the community."

The success of the Confederate Bazaar at Liverpool has induced Madame Erlanger, *nee* Slidell, to organize a similar one in Paris, at which all the most beautiful Confederate and Copperhead ladies in Paris will have stalls. Confederate sympathizers in France are not as numerous as in England, but they are more enthusiastic, and there is no doubt that they find more encouragement there than here, in the highest quarters.

DENOUNCING THEIR FRIENDS.—The Richmond *Enquirer* deals harshly with its friends the McClellanites. It says:

"The Democrats of the North have betrayed every principle of their own, abandoned their old and faithful associates 'of the South,' and joined the Black Republicans in their bloody crusade, thus rendering themselves unfit for Southern association."

The Copperhead selectmen of Wells, Maine, rejected the vote of Stephen Thornton, a colored man, on election day, because, as they claimed, he was not a citizen of the United States under the Dred Scott decision." The colored individual brought the case to court, where the selectmen were fined $5 each and costs, for refusing to give the negro his rights. The selectmen said subsequently that the plaintiff's vote "was not refused on account of his color, but because he was of African descent." There's Copperhead metaphysics. Down with Plato!

Gen. Garibaldi, who is in the way of doing all sorts of eccentric things, has refused to accept the yacht bought and fitted up for him at Liverpool. It is full of all sorts of presents—two hundred smoking caps, two hundred pairs of embroidered slippers, innumerable pipes and pincushions, canned meats and fruits for several years' provisions, and all sorts of things; and the yacht, I believe, has already sailed for Italy. How can he persist in his refusal to receive it? Very stupid of him it he does. Let somebody offer me a yacht full of goodies!—*London Cor. N. Y. Times.*

S. M. CLARK, Superintendent of the Printing Department in the Treasury, has nearly completed the necessary plates and machinery for the issue of three-cent notes. It is understood that Secretary Fessenden favors this denomination of currency, in order that the people may be relieved from the exactions of those speculators who obtain control of the nickle cent and two cent pieces as fast as issued from the Mint, and compel dealers requiring them to pay a premium of ten to fifteen cents to obtain a necessary supply for the transaction of business.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN CUBA.—A letter from Havana says that a committee of influential persons has waited on Gen. Dulce with a petition, to be presented through him to Isabel II., that all negroes be declared free after the expiration of twenty-four years from Jan. 1, 1865, each receiving a salary, during the last four years, of eighteen dollars per month, the greater part of which may be retained until the freedom of the slave is accomplished.

THE NEW FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.—The plates of the new fifty-cent fractional currency are nearly ready for printing. These notes will be of the same breadth as those now in circulation, but nearly twice as long. The new five cent notes will be of the same size as the old ones, while the ten and twenty-five cent notes will be graduated between the highest and lowest denomination. It is probable that a three cent note will be issued for the greater facility of making change.

THE FAIR IN AID OF COLORED SOLDIERS.—The Ladies' Sanitary Commission for Colored Soldiers report that they have cleared nearly $3,000 by the late fair for the aid of colored soldiers, and they have yet to be raffled for one of Chickering's fine pianos, a Hamlin & Mason cabinet organ, and a lace cape valued at $60. The Charlestown table returned $365, the Chelsea table, $268.18, the Worcester table, $105.50, and the West Newbury table, $79.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

The New York *Journal of Commerce*, which supported McClellan, is sick of politics, and it announces that it will henceforth have nothing to say on this subject. The Louisville *Journal* is also sick. The proprietors have kicked out Paul R. Shipman, and Geo. D. Prentice takes the helm. But the loyal people have no more confidence in the latter than the former. Both have proved recreant to the Union cause. They made their bed with rebel sympathizers, and they will not soon be able to cheat the Union men again. The announcements, however, are significant.

THE GUERILLA BANDS are not made up of the riff-raff of Southern society. They are its elite. It was but a week or so since a beautiful lady of Natchez, Miss Maria S. Williams, sister-in-law of Rev. Dr. Strattan, of the First Presbyterian Church of this town, and a member of his family, was detected in smuggling out cloth and military equipments to her brother. He was an officer in one of these murderous, roving guerilla bands. It is notorious that these bands are made up of citizens and planters, the once rich, respected, chivalrous lords of the lash! Murderers now of defenseless old men, of helpless black women and children—the shame of our civilization and our age!—*Natchez Cor. Springfield Republican.*

CHARLESTON.—The *Times* publishes extracts from a private letter of a Union officer in Charleston, which was smuggled through the lines by an exchanged naval officer. The writer says: "I have had ocular evidence that the war has made this town, in about three-fourths of its area, a howling wilderness. All the business done here is that pertaining to military affairs. A few miserably stocked stores are open, but there is scarcely anybody to buy or anything to sell. Blocks upon blocks of fine stores on King-street, the Broadway of Charleston, are closed; the sidewalks and roadway overgrown with weeds more than knee-high. Not a single being to be seen for whole squares at a time! Within four squares, in any direction from the building where we are confined, there cannot be found twenty people in the streets, except the sentinels and hucksters."

EMANCIPATION.—The following is a carefully prepared estimate of the number of slaves thus far set free by the Administration or by the events of the war:

Mississippi	155,540	Maryland	87,188
Alabama	145,023	Missouri	114,965
Arkansas	74 074	Texas	30,427
Virginia	163 629	Kentucky	75 163
South Carolina	67,066	Georgia	154,066
North Carolina	55,176	Dis. of Columbia	3,185
Louisiana	201,150	Indian Territory	7,369
Tennessee	183,912	Utah and Nebraska	44
Delaware	692		
Aggregate			1,368,600

—*Chicago Journal.*

ILLINOIS COTTON.—Illinois will yet talk of the "snows of her cotton fields" without being suspected of poetic extravagance. A friend handed us this morning a sample of beautiful unginned cotton, picked on an "old plantation" of our own State, in Alexander County. There are two hundred and ninety acres, and the average yield is a bale—four hundred pounds—per acre. The successful experiment has demonstrated that the cost of cultivating cotton does not exceed that of corn. Taking cotton at fifty cents a pound and corn at a dollar a bushel, a little cheap arithmetic will show a balance in favor of cotton, of not less than $150 per acre.

To the grand staples of Illinois—the three m's—men, maize and meat—she must soon add the deposed king of "the sunny South."—*Chicago Journal.*

DESTRUCTION OF A COLORED SCHOOL HOUSE AND CHURCH.—A thriving settlement of free blacks exists at Clomford's Creek, 27 miles from Newbern, N. C. The colored men had constructed two buildings connected with each other, for the purposes of a church and school-house. On the night of the 28th ult, three scoundrels, calling themselves Confederate soldiers aroused the teacher of the school at midnight, and compelled her to open the doors of the house on penalty of instant death if she refused. The ruffians gave their word that she should not be harmed, and would have an opportunity of saving her personal effects; but they had determined to burn the house and destroy the school. But, although the lady escaped personal injury, she only saved a few blankets, and lost quite a sum of money and other valuables, as the church had been previously fired, and both buildings were soon consumed. The incendiaries were subsequently tracked by the blacks to the house of a secessionist near the settlement, and the infamous deed is believed to have been committed by men employed or instigated by him.—*Boston Transcript.*

THE GREAT FREEDMEN'S FAIR.—The Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission propose to institute a great Fair, to be opened at Chicago on the 24th of December, for the benefit of a class whom other associations of patriotism and philanthropy do not reach. The Fair will be called the "Northwestern Epicurean Fair," the principal contributions solicited being articles of consumption, from the coarsest productions of the soil to the daintiest dishes. Premiums will be awarded to contributors of the best articles, and there will be a large advertising medium in connection with the Fair. A dining hall and a horticultural department will be among the features; and contributions of every kind will be received. There is great reason to give aid to such a charitable enterprise, whose good work will benefit thousands of patriotic men who have dared danger and shed their blood for the country. The Freedmen's Fair, like the Sanitary Fair, receives its greatest encouragement from the ladies.

THE WORDS MOST USED.—Some gentlemen engaged in the work of bringing a type-setting machine to perfection have undertaken to ascertain what words in our language occur most frequently. They have taken ten thousand words from ten different authors, and by a careful count have ascertained how many times any word found at all in the composition is given in the whole course of it. The word "*the*" occurs most frequently. One of the examples taken was the review of the week from the *Traveller* and there the word *the* occurs more frequently than in any other. They have also ascertained, in the same way, the number of times all combinations of letters occur in the examples taken. They have then selected twenty-three from those which occur most frequently, and they propose to have these—such as "*the*," "*and*," "*ion*," "*ing*," "*en*," "*er*," etc., cast as single types, thus saving time and labor. This latter improvement is likely to have a trial without waiting for the new machine.

During last Winter a "contraband" came into the Federal lines in North Carolina, and was marched up to the officer of the day to give an account of himself, whereupon the following colloquy ensued:

"What's your name?"
"My name's Sam."
"Sam what?"
"No, sah; not Sam Watt. I'se jist Sam."
"What's your other name?"
"I hasn't got no oder name, sah. I'se Sam—dat's all."
"What's your master's name?"
"I'se got no massa now; massa runned away, yah! yah! I'se a free nigger now."
"Well, what's your father's and mother's name?"
"I'se got none, Sah; neber had none. I'se jist Sam—ain't nobody else."
"Haven't you any brothers and sisters?"
"No, sah; neber had none. No brudder, no sister, no fadder, no mudder, no massa—nothin but Sam. When you see Sam you see all dere is of us."

SUBSTITUTE FOR COTTON—The Paris correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, under date Nov. 4, writes: Great excitement prevails in those manufacturing districts of France where cotton is most used, on account of the discovery of a substitute for the now dethroned King. This substitute is the China-grass, or white *urtica* (nettle-weed), which may be cultivated cheaply in all parts of France. The experiments with this new textile fibre have been going on for a year or more under the direction of a competent committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen, and this committee, with the weed, the raw fibre, and various specimens of woven and colored and uncolored cloths in hand, have shown the Chamber, beyond all question, that the substitute is a genuine one *in every point.* They declare, without reservation, that none of the qualities of the cotton are wanting. I commend to your attention the lengthy report as published in two late numbers of the *Moniteur.* The Minister of the Interior is furnishing seed, obtained from China, to agriculturalists, and the speculation is going to assume at once colossal proportions.

MISS WHITNEY'S AFRICA.—It is a wonderful and noteworthy fact, that in the midst of our great struggle for national existence, the fine arts in every department seem to have received a new impetus. New edifices of most imposing exterior; statues in bronze and marble; paintings of the highest order of excellence, are shown the public on every side. The spirit evoked by the preparations for the "National Sailors' Fair" has brought out some new and valuable contributions in art.

We wish to mention one especially interesting at the present moment—a statue, by our townswoman, Anne Whitney, named Africa, just placed on exhibition at the gallery of art of Childs & Jenks for the benefit of the Sailor's Fair. The artist has been favorably known to us by the statue of Lady Godiva, exhibited here last season, and other works heretofore.

The subject is a partially nude female figure, reclining, in the act of awakening from slumber. The general pose of the figure is natural, and the drapery simple and easy. The expression of the face is excellent, as indicative of the struggling emotions, long dormant, of hope and heart for the future, just kindled from the long despair of ages. The whole figure is a truthful exposition of the prophecy of Holy Writ, just now more than ever before, we may feel assured, near its fulfilment: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God."—*Boston Transcript.*

THE DAVENPORT BROTHERS.—*London, Nov.* 5.—The Davenports are, perhaps, just now, the greatest sensation here. They give private *seances* at ten guineas, often two in an evening, one at 8 o'clock and one at 11 p. m. These, of course, are at the houses of the aristocracy, moneyed, at least. The more public *seances* at the Queen's Concert-rooms, Hanover Square, are a guinea admission, limited to thirty persons; but the anxiety to see them makes it impossible to keep to the limit, and at a *seance* I attended a few evenings ago, there were fifty-two persons, a few of whom may have been gentlemen of the press and other respectable dead heads. There was a concert in the cabinet, requiring apparently four pairs of hands to execute, and within three seconds after it ceased, the two brothers were seen to be firmly bound upon and to their seats. There were spectre hands and arms by the dozen. Ringing guitars went whirling through the air, hitting, but not drawing blood from the spectators, as the other night from one of the *Times's* editors, Mr. John Oxenford. Mr. Fay's coat was taken off, and his hands were found, a second after, bound firmly behind him and to the chair. A gentleman's coat was found on the elder Davenport, under the same circumstances. I took the trouble to examine the knots in this instance. There was no mistake about *them* at all events. The two small wrists were firmly bound together, with a double knot between them, and both were tied to the back of the chair and the ends of the rope carried under it. I cannot conceive it possible that the hands were untied. In some cases they have been sealed with sealing wax. But the coat of one of the spectators was on completely and neatly over his own. Changing coats when one's hands are tied, is a feat I supposed was confined to politicians. It was what you may call a stunner.—*Cor. N. Y. Times.*

FREEDMEN'S CELEBRATION IN NASHVILLE.—A Nashville letter of Oct. 25, in the Newark *Daily Advertiser* says:

"One of the most unique, strange and attractive celebrations, I venture to say, ever seen in these United States, took place here last evening. Four thousand men of color, the great majority of them soldiers, assembled in mass meeting and formed a procession seldom surpassed for order, discipline and good behavior, yet characterized by the wildest enthusiasm. Their march through the principal streets of the city was a complete ovation; the windows and doors of every building were filled with white citizens, waving handkerchiefs, cheering and encouraging these freedmen of the South. The numerous transparencies and the cunning devices for exhibiting their principles, were strongly characteristic of the shrewdness and ability of the free negro thrown on his own resources.

"After marching through the principal streets they assembled at the Capitol, and were addressed at length by 'Andy Johnson,' in his peculiar, dry, humorous manner. No one knows the hearts of these people better than he, and as he told again the story of the war, its causes and its future effects, every ear was attentive and every tongue silent; but when he spoke of freedom for the slave and told them, 'He who would be free, himself must strike the blow,' shouts and prolonged cheers rent the air and made the welkin ring, in a wild enthusiasm almost frantic. The scene at this moment, while their dark features were lit up by the flaming torches which brought to view the battle-flags of the four colored regiments stationed here, waving their heavy folds, was a fit one for an artist.

"Had any one four years ago predicted such a scene in this city at this time, the idea would have been scouted as more preposterous than the story of Lilliput or the deeds of Sancho Panza."

A POOR OLD NEWSPAPER.—The old *National Intelligencer* has fallen into evil ways of late. No paper in the country has attacked Mr. Lincoln with more bitterness or more ability. Yet it owes its existence to prominent Republicans who have been ever ready to vote it a job. I think that some of those New England members of Congress—I might say Massachusetts with truth, but I won't for the sake of some men's feelings—who have voted to give its proprietors fat jobs, must feel a little queer when they read some of the mean and bitter articles upon Mr. Lincoln, which constantly appear in its columns. Their author is Dr. Welling, who has an office up in the Capitol worth $2,500 per annum. He takes his fat salary from the government and abuses the Administration. Yet Congress is Republican and can at any moment legislate him from his berth; and he and his fellows are bellowing "proscription" all the time! It is about time to let such persons feel the weight of a genuine proscription. They will never come to their senses till they do. Aside from his politics, which are very mean, Dr. Welling is a gentleman and a writer of first class ability. Some of his articles are models in their way. It is the greatest wonder in the world that the *Herald* or the *World* have not secured his services, for no editorial ever appears in those journals with half the ability displayed in Dr. Welling's articles. Yesterday morning he gave Gen. Barnard the benefit of five or six solid editorial columns. The review of this General's criticisms upon Gen. McClellan's campaign on the peninsula is caustic and very readable. Truth is often sacrificed for effect in Dr. Welling's articles, but the opposition writers are used to this and I cannot say that it detracts materially from the medability of one of these editorials. A political opponent is constantly on the watch for a fraud or a misstatement, but he can appreciate a smart rejoinder in spite of these defects. Mr. Lincoln is getting his reward now for clinging to such rotten concerns. He has favored the *Intelligencer* in older days, and Mr. Seward has gone far out of his way to give it jobs, and this is their reward! Under the circumstances I can enjoy these bitter criticisms very well.—*Wash. Cor. Springfield Republican.*

EQUAL RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA.—The case of Charlotte L. Brown against the Omnibus Railroad Company, was decided in the Twelfth District Court this morning. The case is an interesting one, involving as it does the right of colored persons to ride in the city cars on the same terms with other people. The plaintiff, a colored woman, complained that she was forcibly ejected from a car, and asked damages for the ejectment. The Railroad Company admitted the truth of that part of the complaint, and justified it on the ground that one of its rules excluded negroes or mulattoes from riding in its cars. Judge Pratt, in a clear, pertinent opinion, grants the motion of plaintiff to strike out that part of the answer.

The adjudged cases of a similar nature are very scant—the books are almost barren in precedents for a decision either way. But the Judge holds that the case is very simple. The Company, by the railroad laws of the State, is a common carrier of passengers, and its duty is to carry all who apply; the obligation being subject to exceptions, of course; as when the passenger applies at the wrong place or time, or is shockingly filthy, or has a contagious disease, or refuses to pay the ordinary fare, and so forth. The accident of color is not legitimately embraced among the causes that justify exceptions to the rule. The Company has a right to make rules for the management of its business, but not to declare that duties imposed upon them by law shall not be performed.

The rule of this Company involved simply a question of power to omit the performance of a duty; it was a question of law alone, not of fact for a jury to determine. The right of the passenger to be carried is superior to the rules of the Company, and cannot be affected by them, nor would any question of the Company's profits or loss by carrying colored persons affect the right of a person to be carried. The Judge shows no disposition to lend the power of the Court to perpetuate a "relic of barbarism," and he intimates that the logic of events is fast disposing of prejudices and unfounded repugnances of one class of Americans to another class. His argument is lucid, and his decision chimes in, we believe, with the growing sentiment of the people.—*San Francisco Bulletin, Oct.* 3.

MARITAL RIGHTS OF SLAVES.—A Baptist Association in Georgia has made a most incendiary, not to say traitorous, attack upon the Confederate government. Led away by a foolish notion that men should not put asunder those who have been joined by God, these Baptists have solemnly

"Resolved, That it is the firm belief and conviction of this body that the institution of marriage was ordained by Almighty God for the benefit of the whole human race, without respect to color; that it ought to be maintained in its original purity among all classes of people, and in all countries, and in all ages, until the end of time; and that, consequently, the law of Georgia, in its failure to recognize and protect this relation between our slaves, is essentially defective, and ought to be amended."

This is all very amiable upon the part of the Baptist Association; but these fanatical reformers should have had the fear before their benevolent eyes of asserting too much. If the marriage of slaves is to be sacredly respected, what is to be done with the fruit of marriage? If husband and wife are not to be parted, why father and son, mother and daughter? These nice notions will never do. Should they be reduced to practice, what will become of the trade of men-merchants, who sell assorted lots of human goods, including the fine, bright, healthy, warranted and promising invoices of boys and girls? This Slavery is a most uncompromising master, and the logic by which it is sustained must be pitiless—must shrink from no conclusion, must fear no frightful barbarity, must compromise with no domestic relation; for any admission of impertinent humanity into the scheme will prove fatal to its whole consistency. If slavery be right, then it is right to separate husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister. A slaveholder is honest, pious, benevolent, equitable, if you only grant him his premises, and the opposite of all these if you only take away a single one of them. So the Georgia Baptist Association had better be careful how it is carried away by fine sentiment. That should be left to the chicken-hearted Yankees.—*Tribune.*

DIED.

HUTCHINSON.—In Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 26, of billious fever, EDWIN HUTCHINSON, of West Randolph, Vt., aged 24 years.

BEMAN.—In New Haven, Ct., Nov. 8th, ELIZA K., wife of Rev. Amos G. Beman.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Collection at Annual Meeting.

E. H. Corson,	$5 00	Chandler Darlington,	5 00
Isaac & Dinah Mendenhall,	8 00	Thomson Croasdale,	1 00
Ruth Dugdale,	2 00	C. Paxson,	1 00
Martha Corson,	5 00	John Agnew,	3 00
J. W. Hurn,	1 00	E. F. Pennypacker,	1 00
E. W. Garrett,	1 00	Henry Bowman,	3 00
B. Wilson,	1 00	Franklin Taylor,	2 00
Allen & Maria Agnew,	10 00	Moses Rupert,	1 00
Charles Hunt,	2 00	Eliza Agnew,	3 00
Pusey Cloud,	5 00	Sarah Lewis,	1 00
Wm. H. Furness,	5 00	B. C. Baron,	1 00
Thomas & Rachel Garrett,	10 00	Thomas Lewis,	1 00
B. P. Kirk,	1 00	Samuel E. Phipps,	1 00
J. Hoops,	0 50	R. P. Hoops,	1 00
E. M. Davis,	5 00	Cash,	2 50
		Robert Purvis,	5 00

Pledges.

Mary Grew,	5 00	Jas. & Lucretia Mott,	50 00
John Cox,	3 00		
John & Mary Child,	5 00	Total,	$159 00
M. J. Burleigh,	2 00		

Advertisements.

DR. TALBOT'S CONCENTRATED MEDICATED PINEAPPLE CIDER

is a PREVENTIVE of SICKNESS.—The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty five years convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes, old and young. It is not new to the Doctor, but is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person one year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring, nevertheless it will save millions from being sick. Is it not better to pay two dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctors' bills, and as much more for the loss of time and the inconvenience of being sick? To prevent sickness use as follows: Add one teaspoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night. It will increase the strength, and give vigor and action to the system. A celebrated New York merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he gained ten pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use, as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it has proved an entire preventive to sickness in his case. Also, another well-known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

Price, $3 per bottle (full quart); Pints, $2; Half Pints, $1. Quarts sent free by express on receipt of price. Freight on Pints and Half Pints to be paid by the purchaser.

B. T. BABBITT, Sole Agent, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72 and 74 Washington st., N. Y. 29-6mo.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

PROSPECTUS.

The Proprietors of the CHRISTIAN EXAMINER respectfully invite attention to the following features of their Journal:

1. Its position, held now for more than *forty years*, as the leading organ of Liberal Theology in this country.

2. Its range of topics, including the entire field of Philosophy and General Literature, together with Political and Social Ethics, and enlisting many of the ablest American writers of various professions and denominations.

3. Its series of brief articles, addressed chiefly to the conscience and religious feeling, and designed to illustrate the Method and Spirit of an unsectarian Piety.

4. Its Review of Current Literature, designed not only to contain a body of fair and independent criticism, but to include, so far as possible, some account of every important publication, or discussion, or discovery at home or abroad, which denotes a distinct step of intellectual or scientific progress.

5. Its classified List of Recent Publications—depending for its completeness on the liberality of publishers—containing numerous brief notes intended as a guide to readers and purchasers of books.

The CHRISTIAN EXAMINER is the organ of no sect in religion, and of no party in politics. Its pages will admit nothing of sectarian bigotry, or party polemics, or moral or religious scepticism.

Its aim will be to discuss all such matters as may come before it in a spirit both independent and impartial; to address the educated intelligence of the nation from the point of view of Liberal Christianity and enlightened conscience; and to devote the best ability at its command to the cause of free government, civilization, and social justice.

Boston, March 1, 1864. THOS. B. FOX, JOS. HENRY ALLEN, } Proprietors.

TERMS.—THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER is published once in two months, beginning with January of each year, at "five dollars per annum," payable in advance. Single number one dollar each.

The EXAMINER will be sent, by mail, to any part of the United States, free of postage, on the remittance of a year's subscription strictly in advance; that is, on or before the issue of the number with which a subscription begins, or at the time of subscribing.

Office of Publication, WALKER, WISE & Co.'s Bookstore, 245 Washington Street, Boston.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE

NEW TERMS.

The Publishers have resisted as long as they could the growing necessity of advancing the price of this work. But when paper costs three times as much as before, and a remittance to London more than twelve dollars for a pound, and every other expense of manufacture is greatly increased (saying nothing of the expense of living), it is evident that sooner or later the Proprietors must follow the course of the Trade.

The change is made only after every other resource has been exhausted; and we confidently appeal to the kindness and justice of our old friends, asking them, not only to continue their own subscriptions, but to add the names of their friends to our list.

On the first of October, the prices will be—
$8 a Year, free of postage.
18 Cents a number.
Bound Volumes, $2 75.
Complete sets, or sets of the First, Second, or Third Series, $2 50 a volume, in Cloth.
First Series, 36 volumes, Morocco backs and corners, $100.
Price to the Trade will be advanced 3 Cents a number.
POSTAGE.—Hereafter we shall pay postage on "The Living Age" *only when Six Dollars is paid in advance for a year.* Persons paying smaller sum must pay their own postage.

A SUBSCRIBER'S COMMENDATION.

DEAR MR. EDITOR: I notice in the last number your announcement of an intended increase of charge for *The Living Age*, beginning with the first of October. It did not come upon me unprepared.

I had supposed that, in common with business of every other kind, *The Living Age* must necessarily feel the pressure of the times the more especially that people are not always as punctual as they should be in paying their subscriptions; and had determined to raise mine voluntarily with the coming year. Your announcement leads me to anticipate that intention. Please credit me with ten dollars—herewith enclosed—and charge me with a like sum annually hereafter.

I am not a moneyed man, but am dependent upon my daily labor for the support of my family, and yet I would rather cut off some bodily wants—wear homespun, dispense with gloves, etc.—than lose the mental improvement and pleasure which I derive from your valuable weekly visitor. It is always warmly welcomed and eagerly perused; for it affords a pleasant resource in evil days, and its varied contents are uniformly excellent, interesting, and instructive. But this is not all that we owe you. While you thus endeavor to improve the mind, and refine the taste, by the diffusion of sound literature (often, I doubt not, at pecuniary disadvantage, or public benefaction and private good are not inseparable), I am, in common with many others, under lasting obligations to you for the influence which you also incidentally exert in behalf of our arduous struggle for national existence. *The Living Age* has given unequivocal proof of its opposition to the most wanton, wicked, and frantic rebellion that ever sullied the page of history; and would deserve on that account, if no other, the hearty support of every patriot.

I hope, sir, that considerations such as have weighed with me may induce others, if not to exceed your terms, at least to acquiesce cheerfully in their proposed increase; and by the punctuality of their remittances, cheer the heart of him who furnishes their weekly feast of good things. Nearly two hundred pages monthly of well-selected reading are more than worth all that you ask.

BINDING.—The price of Binding is now 75 Cents a Volume.

Published every Saturday by

LITTELL, SON, & CO.,
30 Bromfield Street, Boston.

ACADEMY OF PHYSICAL CULTURE, No. 59 West Fourteenth St., N. Y., for instruction and recreative exercises in Light and Vocal Gymnastics. MRS. Z. R. PLUMB.

Open October 3d.

CLASSES.—For Ladies exclusively at half-past 10, A. M.; for Misses and Masters, half past 3, P. M.; for Ladies and Gentlemen, half-past 7, P. M.

TERMS.—First Course of 24 Lessons, 2 per week, $15,00; each succeeding Course, $12.00; for Six months, $25.00; the season, $30.00.

Private Lessons at Unoccupied Hours. Payment Invariably in Advance.

"Mrs. Plumb's Academy is a permanent local institution—a Family Gymnasium, where healthful recreation can be obtained under the most advantageous circumstances."—*Evening Post.*

"A single hour at Mrs. Plumb's satisfied us of the incalculable benefit to physical health of the New Gymnastics."—*N. Y. Atlas.*

"The finest institution for Parlor Gymnastics is that of Mrs Plumb, at 59 West Fourteenth Street. It is a very graceful, healthful, and pleasant species of amusement, and cannot fail to become popular."—*Mirror of Fashion.*

"Mrs. Plumb's Gymnasium, No. 59 West Fourteenth Street, is an institution of a new order, and well deserving the patronage of our best society."—*Leslie's Illustrated.*

"Mrs. Plumb is thoroughly skillful in her professional duties; she has a delightful hall for her pupils, and she is really a benefactor to the community."—*Christian Ambassador.*

"Too much cannot be said of the pleasure, interest and health which are derived from even one course of lessons of this exercise, applied on scientific principles."—*Tribune.*

"Mrs. Plumb has made her Academy at No. 59 West Fourteenth Street a Family Gymnasium, where parents and children may enjoy pleasurable and profitable exercise."—*Daily World.*

"We advise all our friends who suffer fatigue from exercise, to try a few lessons, and we venture they will find them a delightful social pleasure, more entertaining than the theatre."—*American Baptist.*

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

QUESTIONINGS.

WITH folded hands but restless hearts,
With dim conceits and fancies caught,
While acting out life's little parts,
We gather at the shrine of thought.

From argosies of hopes and fears,
From fields where fertile fancy sprouts,
From the Arcana of lost years,
We gather our beliefs and doubts.

Our childish faith so soon is lost—
The realms of mystery reached so soon—
Life's bark, on seas of turmoil tost,
With darkness shrouding star and moon—

And all we are, or hope to reach,
Mark faintly-shining drifts that lead
Our minds to thoughts that dimly teach
The utterance that suits our need—

Until we gather at the gate,
With heart and head at bitter strife,
And ask the oracle of fate
To read the record of our life.

But Delphic utterance is dumb!
The world-old riddle who shall read?
Save at the moment it must come,
When useless all for human need?

So many comments on one text,
Where is the true solution known?
And many savans stand perplexed
About the true Rosetta Stone!

In the Shekinah of the Sea
How many, many secrets sleep;
Up from thy slumber! tell to me
Why mortal man must wake and weep!

Ye stars, that look so calmly down
From yon abodes of space unknown,
Shall bearing cross ensure a crown?
Is there a joy for every moan?

For sorrow is there kindred bliss?
What far-off cycle holds its home?
Will trial in a world like this
Bring triumph in a world to come?

Vain questionings! for sea and star
Are mute as Memnon on the plain;
Some hopes there were, some Joys there are,
Oh! heart, that may not come again.

Ask it of those whose feet have trod
The sands that line the other shore?
Oh! vain attempt to those who plod
Earth's breast as they in years of yore.

They look not back! they come not back!
Their noiseless echo cannot cross
The tide whose bosom shows no track
By which to trace our gain or loss.

Though memory from her magic wheel
Evoke the threads our faith should grasp,
Its warp and woof cannot reveal
One string on which our hope we clasp.

In darkness and in doubt we tread
The path all human kind have trod;
By sorrow and by suffering led
To sleep at last beneath the sod.

Harlem, N. Y., Nov. 15, 1864. WILLIAM E. PABOR.

WELCOME TO GOLDWIN SMITH.

RECEPTION AT THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

From the Evening Post, Nov. 14.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, so well-known in this country for his eloquent vindication of our cause in England, was entertained on Saturday by a large number of our most distinguished citizens at the rooms of the Union League Club in this city, where an elegant breakfast was served.

Among the persons present were Maj.-Gen. Butler, Bishop Potter, Prof. H. B. Smith, John C. Hamilton, Prof. J. W. Dwight, Charles Butler, Dr. Willard Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, John Jay, Prof. Draper, George Bancroft, Rev. Drs. Coxe and Osgood, W. J. Hoppin, Dr. Francis Lieber, George T. Strong, Wm. C. Bryant, George Griswold, William Allen Butler, Dr. Horace Webster, S. B. Ruggles, John A. Stevens, ex-Governor Morgan, Jonathan Sturges, A. A. Low, John C. Green, William H. Webb, President Barnard, C. P. Kirkland, Dr. Bellows, H. J. Raymond, Col. McKaye, G. W. Curtis, Parke Godwin, Wm. M. Evarts, Rev. Dr. Prentiss, W. T. Blodgett, Chas. H. Marshall, Peter Cooper, Rev. Dr. Ferris, Wm. E. Dodge, Prof Vincenzo Botta, and others, about seventy in all, representing nearly every profession, and the best classes of society in this country, particularly the literary, commercial and benevolent institutions.

The breakfast was appointed for ten o'clock. Shortly before that hour the company began to assemble, and gathered in the reception-rooms of the Club. Thirty or forty minutes were passed in social intercourse. The gentlemen present were introduced to Prof. Smith in the library, and at 10½ o'clock the company sat down to breakfast.

Mr. Charles Butler presided. At his right, Prof. Smith was seated, and at his left, Gen. Butler. At the conclusion of the breakfast, the welcoming address to Prof. Smith, on behalf of the company, was delivered by Mr. John Jay.

MR. JAY'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Jay welcomed Prof. Smith on behalf of the gentlemen present, who, he said, represented in some degree the religion and law, the science and arts, the commerce and industry of America, and added:

"In England your co-laborers—Cobden and Bright, Cairnes and Mill and Forster—have all spoken as became the countrymen of John Milton. In France the names of Laboulaye, de Gasparin, Henri Martin, Augustin Cochin, and Auguste Laugel—and M. Laugel's presence to-day adds interest to this festival in your honor—will be remembered among those who, with the philosophic spirit of De Tocqueville, have read aright the American problem.

"But no publicist of England or of the continent has in this contest met and refuted more antagonists than yourself when, in your letter to a whig member of the Southern Independence Association, you exposed the hollowness of the grounds on which the influential noblemen, gentlemen and traders thus associated together, were attempting to make 'England an accomplice,' to quote your own words, 'in the creation of a great slave empire, and in its future extension from the grave of Washington to the Halls of Montezuma.'

"It is an auspicious omen for England that wise counsels at such a moment should have come from the University of Oxford, which for eight hundred years has exerted so marked an influence upon the character of British statesmen, and through them upon the destinies of Europe; that ancient and honorable University, which flourished centuries before Columbus discovered America, or Las Casas, in his blind benevolence, inaugurated the system of slavery, whose dying agonies now convulse this continent and send a shudder through the heart of Christendom. In coming ages the students of Oxford will remember with pride that it was her 'Regius Professor of Modern History' who, amid the strife of parties and the anarchy of morals, reminded the English people of the lessons taught them by the past—recalling maxims of law which her judges had forgotten, principles of justice which her statesmen had ignored, and international duties upon which sympathizers with slavery-propagandists had been allowed to trample. They will remember that he warned those gentlemen of the Nemesis that would avenge the outrages they meditated on a friendly people, and thus assisted to prevent England from rushing into a war which, for the depth of its infamy, would have no parallel in history. While your country is saved from so great a calamity, and in that regard the honor of your government is maintained and the peace of two nations, who ought to be fast friends, is preserved unbroken, you have assured us, and we hail the assurance with satisfaction, that 'the malignity which finds its organ in the London *Times* was that of a party, and not of the English people.'

"In return we can assure you that the sympathy with slavery and rebellion which you find in New York, however disguised under the name of democracy, now allied to the enemies of reform in England, soliciting from Lord Lyons foreign intervention, to assist in the dismemberment of our country, and venturing to insinuate at home that we may be glad to exchange a popular government for the 'acceptable refuge' of 'an imperial despotism'—we can assure you that these are the sentiments of a faction which has been repudiated by the American people. But you need not our assurance on this point. You already appreciate the fact that this war is no strife between different sections, nor differing peoples, nor a struggle merely for national life, however preëminent is the great issue; but that it is a struggle of antagonistic forces—of the defenders of freedom against the upholders of slavery—of popular government against military and aristocratic despotism."

Mr Jay alluded to the late Presidential canvass as follows

"The alliance between the democratic allies of the Slave Power in America and its aristocratic allies in Europe was conspicuous in the recent Presidential canvass. That election, occurring in so vast a territory, amid a civil war without a precedent or a parallel, will teach the world that the strength of a government which is based upon the will of an intelligent and free people has hitherto been underrated, even by its friends. It will teach them that no weak desire for repose, no unmanly shrinking from any sacrifice of life or treasure demanded by truth and honor and justice, will ever permit the American people to offer concession or compromise to enemies, who seek by violence and fraud to subvert our constitution, to divide our country, and to overthrow our liberties. It will make them understand at once that this nation has resolved that the war is just, and that it shall be prosecuted to the end, for national union and popular sovereignty, with the near prospect of universal freedom.

"The significance of this resolve will be felt in every cabinet of Europe, and by every philosophic statesman, and we doubt not that your associates and yourself will make its meaning clear to the people of Great Britain, and that all thought of the possibility of destroying the sentiment of American nationality, or of inducing the nation to consent to the dismemberment of the Republic, will be forthwith and forever abandoned."

Alluding to the question of the future relations of America and Europe, Mr. Jay contended that the grave causes of prejudice and dislike on our part will vanish with the extinction of slavery and the lust of dominion which it naturally engendered; and remarked, in conclusion:

"Closing these remarks, I beg leave to observe that we do not welcome you, sir, to America merely as the Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, nor even for what England and America already owe you, nor for what they confidently expect from you, but we cordially greet you as a friend and an associate of the friends of liberty throughout the world."

At the conclusion of the address of Mr. Jay, Prof. Smith responded. Before he began the company rose to their feet and gave him an impressive welcome. His remarks were eloquent and extremely interesting. They received great applause throughout.

SPEECH OF PROFESSOR SMITH.

GENTLEMEN: I received you invitation to this entertainment as I have received all the kindness which has welcomed me here, with feelings at once of pleasure and embarrassment; of pleasure at finding that an Englishman who, like you, loves liberty and social justice, has in America a second home; of embarrassment, and almost of shame, when I think how little I can possibly have done to merit such attentions.

If a mere writer could ever have been led by this kind welcome to overestimate his own services, such feelings would have been banished from my mind when I was present at a soldier's funeral, and saw borne past me the body of one who had given to this cause not mere words of sympathy, but a young, promising and happy life.

I was not even among the first to perceive the claims of your cause upon our sympathies; though from the time when it came clear out of the mists which at first surrounded it, as the cause not only of your territorial greatness, but of humanity and civilization, and brought out the nobler part of the national character, which to the eye of distant spectators had been at first obscured, it has received the deep and unwavering allegiance of my heart.

On all grounds, then, I accept this honor, not for myself, but for the great party in England of which I am an adherent, and which has followed you with its good wishes through this great struggle. Would that Cobden or Bright were here in my place to represent your English friends more worthily, and to acknowledge this tribute in better words than my unpracticed tongue can command.

In truth, little gratitude is due from you to any English liberal who has raised his voice in support of this cause. It is our cause as well as yours. Our hopes of political progress have sunk with your calamities. They will revive with your victories. They will revive with your victories over your enemies in the field. They will revive still more with your moral victories at home.

The tidings are now on their way to England for which English liberals have been waiting with intense anxiety, and which will fill their hearts with gratitude, joy and renewed hope. This great triumph,—this great ratification of the principles for which you have done and suffered so much, and on which your commonwealth is founded—will cause almost as much exultation in England as it is causing here.

I came here partly in pursuance of my vocation as a student of history, to verify the theory which I had formed. I came to see whether the progress of humanity, which I had learned to trace through all the ages, and believed to be perpetual, had been arrested here. I shall return convinced that it has not been arrested. I was told that my visit to America would modify my liberal opinions. In a certain sense I own they have been modified. Till I came here I was—not a revolutionist, for no man can more heartily abhor violent revolutions—but somewhat impatient of political evils and anxious for vehement effort and for immediate change. I shall return with my impatience allayed by a calm assurance of the future. You will succeed in your great experiment, and we shall in the end feel, in the solution of our political problems, the beneficent effects of your success.

I came also to see a great political crisis. Would that all those who love and all those who mistrust free institutions could have seen it also! Would that they could have witnessed as I have the majestic calmness with which, under circumstances the most perilous and exciting, the national decision has been pronounced. Here is no anarchy, no military dictatorship. In the midst of civil war a civilian is re-elected as President by a constitutional process as tranquil as an English Sabbath day. And no king is more secure in the allegiance of his subjects than is the President in the allegiance of all—even those who voted against him—beneath his elective rule.

I would, too, that the English people could witness as I witness the spirit of humanity which retains its power over all the passions of civil war, notwithstanding the greatest provocations; and the absence, which has most forcibly struck me during my residence here, of any bloodthirsty sentiment or any feeling of malignant hatred towards those who are now your antagonists in a civil war, but whom, when they shall have submitted to the law, you will again eagerly welcome as fellow-citizens, and receive back into the full communion of the free. Many a prejudice, many an error would be dispelled, many a harsh judgment would be cancelled, many a bitter word recalled, if only my countrymen could behold with their own eyes what I have beheld and now behold.

I will not on this occasion dwell on the present state of feeling in England towards this country. You know by this time that we are not, as a section of our press would represent us to be, united in sympathy with your enemies, but that in this as on other political questions we are divided among ourselves, and that the mass of our people are on your side. Mr. Ward Beecher, who is here present, must have sufficiently assured you of this fact. But I cannot omit on any occasion, least of all on this occasion and in this city, to protest that all Englishmen who have any regard for the honor of England, or even for her real interest as a commercial nation, reprobate and abhor the conduct of those shipbuilders and merchants of Liverpool whose ignoble cupidity, regardless alike of public morality and of the welfare of their country, has brought the two nations to the verge of a desolating war.

No part of the address which Mr. Jay has read finds a more cordial response in my heart, or will find a more cordial response in the hearts of my friends, than that which promises future good will and peace between England and America. One great cause of our transient estrangement has been removed, as Mr. Jay has most truly remarked, since the slave-owner has ceased to fill your councils with his tyrannical spirit, and to inflame the animosity of your people against a nation which, with all her shortcomings and with all her faults, has been the sincere, constant and active enemy of slavery. In the councils of England too—at least in the general sentiments of our nation—a change favorable to the continuance of friendly relations with your country will not fail to ensue when the alien form of slavery having disappeared, your institutions shall stand forth in their true lineaments and native character, as the first attempt in the history of the world to found a great community on the principles, on which alone a community worthy of the name can be founded, of common interest and equal right.

Your cause, as I said before, is ours; it is the cause of the whole human race. That all the sacrifices you have made for it may be abundantly repaid, that speedy victory may attend your arms, that victory may be followed by perfect reconciliation and the healing of all the wounds which civil war has made, and that you may be guided by the spirit of wisdom and of patriotism through the work of reconstruction and all the difficulties and problems which remain, is the earnest prayer of thousands and tens of thousands of English hearts and of none more than of mine.

Prof. Smith's remarks elicited frequent and enthusiastic applause, and were heard throughout with the deepest attention.

[Letters from President Lincoln and Secretary Fessenden were read by Mr. Butler, who at the close said he hoped that the friends present would then, in an informal manner, give expression to their feelings. Speeches followed from Wm. M. Evarts, Gen. Butler, Rev. Dr. Coxe, George Bancroft and George W. Curtis, for which we cannot find room.]

SPEECH OF MR. LAUGEL.

Mr. Laugel, one of the prominent writers for the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in Paris, and whose eloquent pen has often been used in defence of the Union cause before the tribunal of European opinion, spoke in the following pertinent and touching words:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: Never before did I address an audience in another language but my own, but I feel that I must answer in a few words the remarks which have been made, and thank you for the manner in which you have received them. There is nothing for me to add to the high and well-deserved tribute which has been paid to your distinguished guest; you may well say of him what our great heroine, Joan of Arc, said of the oriflamme at the coronation of her king: "As it has been with me in battle let it be with me at the hour of triumph." For this is an hour of triumph; you have shown to the world that the North is united and in earnest, that your people are determined not only to reësta blish the Union, but to extirpate that only germ of disunion among you, slavery. You have shown that your institutions can bear the most severe test, I mean the renovation of the Executive in times of civil war and under conditions of uncontrolled liberty. Leaving these topics, I must beg permission from your distinguished guest, and from yourselves, gentlemen, to turn a moment to my own position among you. It is not often that a Frenchman has occasion to address an American audience. Allow me to seize this opportunity, and to explain to you, in a few words, what I consider to be the feelings of my people in regard to the great struggle in which you are engaged. Let me first draw a distinction between the French government and the French people. I will not here open an attack against the government of my country, but this I may say, because it is a mere fact, that government, especially in what concerns its foreign relations, is armed with an uncontrolled authority. I have not always been satisfied with its policy. I have deeply deplored the unnecessary haste with which it recognized the rebels of the South as belligerents; but that being once done, I owe it to justice, and I think you owe it to justice, to acknowledge that, whatever may have been its sympathies, it has adhered to the rules of neutrality. Leaving the government, I turn to the people. Here I feel more at home, and I am happy to assure you that the sympathies of my countrymen are almost unanimously on your side. Ask a hundred Frenchmen if they believe in the restoration of the Union, and one in the number, I will admit it, will tell you that he does not; but ask these unbelievers if they desire the disruption of your Union, and all will tell you "No."

Your cause has had that singular privilege among us to unite people of the most conflicting parties; it has enlisted legitimists, who remember that the last glorious act of the dynasty they still adhere to has been to help you in the contest for your independence; it has enlisted Catholics, who see the Catholic Churches flourishing among your tolerant people, and under the protection of your laws; it has enlisted all the Liberals, Orleanists or Republicans; it has enlisted such men as Laboulaye, Gasparin, Cochin, Berryer, our greatest orator; Prévost-Paradol, Forcade, Lanfrey, our best journalists; Henri Martin, our popular historian, and how many others could I not name. Though the forms of government cannot, and, therefore, ought not to be everywhere the same, we all know how much we could borrow with advantage from your institutions, being ourselves a democratic people. We all admire your habits of self-government; we admire your powerful organization of parties, founded on that principle, and which, in the absence of an aristocratic class, are your means of transmitting great political traditions; we admire your public schools, your municipal institutions; we admire the ingenuity of your people in all branches of industry and agriculture.

Having so much to borrow from you let me say that we have also something to give in return. Travelling over your great country, I have been surprised to find sometimes traces of French influence where I had least expected to find them. In the far West, I have seen a new house-roof built after the fashion of our great architect, Mansard. Entering your houses, I see everywhere reminiscences of French art, of French fashion—that kind of art which we call industrial art, and in which I may say, without false pride, that my countrymen excel, is peculiarly well adapted to the wants and habits of a good democratic community like yours. Let us not despise those humble efforts to bring an æsthetic influence into the channels of daily life. But, if I go to a higher sphere, I will say, also, that it gave me great pleasure to see how those of your literary and scientific men, with whom it has been my good fortune to associate, are well acquainted with the works of our writers; of our philosophers; of our historians. Well may all communication, personal, scientific, literary, commercial, become day by day more numerous; may soon the Atlantic swarm with vessels going from your shores to the shores of my beautiful country; may, above all, our tri-color flag and your stars and stripes always meet, as always they have met, to bring tidings of peace and good will!

[Then followed addresses by Prof. Botta, Rev. Dr. Thompson, Dr. Bellows, Prof. H. B. Smith, Dr. Charles King, S. B. Ruggles, Parke Godwin, Dr. Osgood, and others.]

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THANKSGIVING.

OH how the wild winds whistle by the door!
And oh, how the Storm-king drives the snow about!
But the huge logs crackle, and the blazing fagots roar,
As we gather round the hearthstone to see Thanksgiving out.

So let the Storm-king whistle down the lanes,
And let the wild winds rattle at the panes;
Only gather closer, boys, the fire is burning bright,
John is here, Tom is here, all are here to-night!

From the distant city come, shouting all the way,
Joseph and the youngsters, Frank and Bets and Ben,
Muffled up in buffaloes, snuggled in the sleigh,
And father meets them at the gate to greet them home again.

So let the Storm-king, etc.

Dick is come from college, from his Latin and his Greek,
So wondrous full of knowledge, and withal so tall and trim,
The minister invited him at the Sunday-school to speak,
And full half the village maidens have set their caps for him.

So let the Storm-king, etc.

John is here, Tom is here, and both in army blue,
For both went out as soldiers in the glorious "61,"
And both have fought the battle well, and both are staunch and true;
John brings home his epaulettes and Tom his shining gun.

So let the Storm-king, etc.

Let the shadows gather in the frosty northern skies,
But the great logs burn the brighter and the pine-knots ruddier blaze;
There's a holier light out-gleaming from these loving, laughing eyes,
And a shining in the heart from the light of other days.

So let the Storm-king, etc.

O happy, happy, happy we who gather once again,
An unbroken band of brothers, in these days of blood and strife;
When our men are turned to heroes, and our beardless boys to men,
As the red right hand of Treason clutches at the nation's life.

So let the Storm-king whistle down the lanes,
And let the wild winds rattle at the panes;
Only gather closer, boys, the fire is burning bright,
John is here, Tom is here, all are here to-night!

J. H. M.

THE STRASBURG CLOCK.

THE priests and military have retired, and I am now sitting in a chair facing the gigantic clock—from the bottom to the top not less than one hundred feet, and about thirty feet wide and fifteen feet deep. Around me are many strangers, waiting to see the working of this clock, as it strikes the hour of noon. Every eye is upon the clock. It wants five minutes to twelve. The clock has struck and the people are gone, except a few whom the sexton or head man, with a wand and sword, is conducting round the building.

The clock has struck in this way: The dial is some twenty feet from the floor, and on each side of which is a cherub or a little boy with a mallet, and over the dial is a small bell. The cherub on the left strikes the first quarter, that on the right the second quarter. Some fifty feet above the dial, in a large niche, is a huge figure of Time, a bell in his left, a scythe in his right hand. In front stands a figure of a young man with a mallet, who strikes the third quarter on the bell in the hand of Time, and then turns and glides, with a slow step, round behind Time; then comes out an old man with a mallet and places himself in front.

As the hour of twelve comes the old man raises his mallet and deliberately strikes twelve times on the bell, that echoes through the building, and is heard all round through the region of the church. The old man glides behind father Time, and the young man comes round again. As soon as the old man has struck twelve and disappeared, another set of machinery is put in motion, some twenty feet higher still. It is thus: There is a high cross with the image of Christ. The instant twelve is struck, one of the apostles walks out from behind, comes in front, turns facing the cross, bows, and walks on around to his place.

As he does so another comes out in front, turns, bows, and passes in. So twelve apostles, figures large as life, walk round, bow, and pass on. As the last appears, an enormous cock, perched on the pinnacle of the clock, slowly flaps its wing, puts forth its neck and crows three times, so loud as to be heard outside of the church to some distance, and so natural as to be mistaken for a cock. Then all is silent as death. No wonder this clock is the admiration of Europe. It was made in 1571, and has performed these mechanical powers ever since, except about fifty years, when it stood for repairs.—*The Moravian.*

GEORGE THOMPSON AT THE CAPITAL OF VERMONT.

From the Aurora of the Valley, Nov. 5.

THIS distinguished champion of human rights, the truest and most intelligent friend of America that England has produced, while accompanying his friend Oliver Johnson (of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD), on a short tour in Vermont, speaking at Peacham, St. Johnsbury and Randolph, was invited by joint resolution of the Legislature to deliver an address in the Hall of the House of Representatives, which invitation was accepted for Thursday evening, the 20th ult. He was escorted to the desk by Lieut.-Gov. Dillingham and the Speaker of the House, Mr. Gardner; and introduced by the former.

And I wish I held the pen that could draw a graphic picture of the beautiful and brilliantly-lighted Hall, the vast audience, the intense interest, the enthusiasm, the satisfaction with which were revived the noble thoughts at which

"Our hearts in glad surprise,
To higher levels rise."

It was one of those rare occasions that must be seen and felt to be appreciated. The manner, the voice, the magnetic power of the speaker were indescribable.

This was Mr. Thompson's first visit to our State, so we could not be said to be making amends for past abuse; and, indeed, it is to be hoped that had he in bygone years when in this country come among us, he would not have found us in that condition of ignominious vassalage to the Slave Power which would have led us to join the cry of "firebrand," "foreign intermeddler," and to have greeted him with mobs, or burned him in effigy. As we could not be put to the test, we will think that had we been, we should not have disgraced ourselves. We have now only words of welcome, and heartiest thanks for the invaluable services he has rendered us, both here and in his native land.

No man can more fully realize the change that has come over the Northern people than Mr. Thompson; coming to this country as he did in the earliest days of the anti-slavery agitation, and uniting his heartiest efforts with those of the persecuted Abolitionists, meeting everywhere systematic attempts to stifle all inquiry into the condition of the slave, or the effects of the slave system, and to punish in one way or another all inquirers, he can draw the contrast of our thraldom in the past with the freedom of the present in such true and vivid light, that we feel how much we are ennobled by this battle for freedom and human rights, though our hearts are wrung with anguish inexpressible by the bereavements that have come to every household.

Mr. Thompson paid a just and merited tribute to the pioneer of the anti-slavery movement, Wm. Lloyd Garrison. The speech is to be printed in pamphlet form, and will be found of the deepest interest.

Oct. 23d, 1864. A. H.

EDWARD EVERETT'S TRIBUTE TO THE PRESIDENT.

[At the banquet lately given in Boston to Capt. Winslow and the officers and crew of the Kearsarge, the Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, responding to the toast, "The President of the United States," paid him the following tribute:]

Now that the struggle is past, I am sure that no liberal-minded person, however opposed to him politically (and you know, sir, that I belong to "the President's opposition"), will be unwilling that, in performing the duty you have devolved upon me, I should say that I recognize in him a full measure of the qualities which entitle him to the personal respect of the people, who have just given him a proof of their confidence, not extended to any of his predecessors in this generation. It is no small proof of this, that he has passed through the fiery ordeal of the recent canvass, and stood the storm of detraction from hundreds of vigorous and hostile presses, and had so little said against him (I speak now of personal qualities) which deserves even an answer. There is no one of his predecessors, not even Washington, of whom as many and as reproachful things have not been said, unless, perhaps, it be Mr. Monroe, who had the happiness to fall upon "the era of good feeling," and who was, in no one quality, either as a man or a President, superior to Mr. Lincoln. The President gave ample proof of his intellectual capacity, when he contested a seat in the Senate of the United States with Judge Douglas. When I sat in the Senate with Judge Douglas, I thought him, for business and debate, the equal of the ablest in that body; but his speeches, in the Senatorial canvass, were in no respect superior to Mr. Lincoln's. I believe the President to be entirely conscientious in the discharge of his high trust, and that, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, he has administered the government with the deepest sense of responsibility to his country and to his God. He is eminently kind-hearted. I am sure he spoke the truth, the other day, when he said that he had never willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. He is one of the most laborious and indefatigable men in the country, and that he has been able to sustain himself under as great a load of care as was ever laid upon the head or the heart of a living man, is in no small degree owing to the fact that the vindictive and angry passions form no part of his nature, and that a kindly and playful spirit mingles its sweetness with the austere cup of public duty. It may seem hardly worth while to notice the descriptions, which represent the President as a person of uncouth appearance and manners. But as Mr. Burke did not think it out of place, in the most magnificent discourse in the English language, to comment on the appearance, manners and conversation of the exiled French Princes, I will take the liberty to say, that on the only social occasion on which I ever had the honor to be in the President's company, viz., the commemoration at Gettysburg, he sat at table at the house of my friend, David Wills, Esq., by the side of several distinguished persons, ladies and gentlemen, foreigners and Americans, among them the French Minister at Washington, since appointed French Ambassador at Madrid, and the Admiral of the French fleet, and that in gentlemanly appearance, manners and conversation, he was the peer of any man at the table. The most important objection urged against Mr. Lincoln is that personally he lacks fixedness of purpose, and that his Cabinet and Administration have wanted unity of counsel. I think I shall offend no candid opponent (I certainly am no partisan myself), if I remind you, that precisely the same charge, on the same grounds, might be brought against Gen. Washington and his Administration. Under circumstances vastly less embarrassing, he placed in his Cabinet and kept there, as long as they could be induced to stay, the two political leaders (Jefferson and Hamilton), not merely of different wings of the same political connection, but the heads of two radically opposite parties. Mr. Monroe, though elected himself by an almost unanimous vote, allowed his Cabinet to contain three rival candidates for the succession, who differed radically on almost every public question. It rarely happens in popular government, that any other course is practicable in difficult times. In England, where the theory and practice of Parliamentary government have been maturing for ages, there has seldom been a Cabinet, in which the same dissidence has not existed. It does at the present time in the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston. At any rate, our friends of the party opposed to Mr. Lincoln, at the late election, must exercise some charity toward him in this respect. It was made up of two wings entertaining diametrically opposite views of the policy which ought to be pursued in the present difficult crisis of affairs, and no little strategical skill was required to produce even a show of unity sufficient for the purpose of the election. But I forbear. The election, in all but its formalities, is decided. It is due to both parties to say that they accept the result, the one its defeat, and the other its victory, with moderation and equanimity. It is in this spirit alone that our common country can be carried through its great trial.

CARLYLE.—Mr. Carlyle will have his last volume of the Life of Frederick out in about two months. He has recently received a letter from Mr. Emerson about the condition of affairs in America, that, I think, has given him a suspicion that he did not get the whole American Iliad into his nutshell criticism. I think if the friends of freedom for the negro had been as sedulous in laying their statements before him as the Southerners have, he would not have got into that old rut—so deeply, at least. The Southerners have for years plied him with their perverted statistics and assertions. (They can even quote Theodore Parker as declaring that the negro is inferior to the Indian—a wretched absurdity.) Our only hope now is that the extent to which Mrs. Greenhow, J. R. Thompson, of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, who is here, and other silly persons, are boring him, will make him rush to his old ground in self-defence. For the able article about him in the *Christian Examiner*, which quotes some old anti-slavery utterances of his, only repeats what he is very free in declaring—that he was once an ardent friend of negro-emancipation. Work is his idol; and the lying West Indian masters managed to get him to believe that the negro would not work without a master.—*M. D. C., in the Commonwealth.*

BRYANT'S SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

O EVEN-handed Future! we confess
This life that men so honor, love and bless,
Has filled thine olden measure. Not the less

We count the precious seasons that remain;
Strike not the level of the golden grain,
But heap it high with years, that earth may gain

What heaven can lose—for heaven is rich in song:
Do not all poets, dying, still prolong
Their broken chants amid the seraph throng,

Where, blind no more, Ionia's bard is seen,
And England's heavenly minstrel sits between
The Mantuan and the wan-cheeked Florentine?

This was the first sweet singer in the cage
Of our close-woven life. A new-born age
Claims in his vesper song its heritage:

Spare us, oh, spare us long our heart's desire!
Moloch, who calls our children through the fire,
Leaves us the gentle master of the lyre.

We count not on the dial of the sun
The hours, the minutes, that his sands have run;
Rather, as on those flowers that one by one

From earliest dawn their ordered bloom display
Till evening's planet with her guiding ray
Leads in the blind mother of the day,

We reckon by his songs, each song a flower,
The long, long daylight, numbering hour by hour,
Each breathing sweetness like a bridal bower.

His morning glories shall we e'er forget?
His noontide's full-blown coronet?
His evening primrose has not opened yet;

Nay, even if creeping Time should hide the skies
In midnight from his century-laden eyes,
Darkened like his who sang of Paradise,

Would not some hidden song-bud open bright
As the resplendent cactus of the night
That floods the gloom with fragrance and with light?

How can we praise the verse whose music flows
With solemn cadence and majestic close,
Pure as the dew that filters through the rose?

How shall we thank him that in evil days
He faltered never; nor for blame, nor praise,
Nor hire, nor party, shamed his earlier lays?

But as his boyhood was of manliest hue,
So to his youth his manly years were true,
All dyed in royal purple through and through!

He for whose touch the lyre of Heaven is strung
Needs not the flattering toil of mortal tongue:
Let not the singer grieve to die unsung!

Marbles forget their message to mankind:
In his own verse the poet still we find,
In his own page his memory lives enshrined,

As in their ambered sweets the smothered bees—
As the fair cedar, fallen before the breeze,
Lies self-embalmed amidst the mouldering trees.

Poets, like youngest children, never grow
Out of their mother's fondness. Nature so
Holds their softs hands, and will not let them go,

Till at the last they track with even feet
Her rhythmic footsteps, and their pulses beat
Twinned with her pulses, and their lips repeat

The secrets she has told them, as their own:
Thus is the inmost soul of Nature known,
And the rapt minstrel shares her awful throne!

O lover of her mountains and her woods,
Her bridal chamber's leafy solitudes,
Where Love himself with tremulous step intrudes,

Her snows fall harmless on thy sacred fire:
Far be the day that claims thy sounding lyre
To join the music of the angel choir!

Yet, since life's amplest measure must be filled,
Since throbbing hearts must be forever stilled,
And all must fade that evening sunsets gild,

Grant, Father, ere he close the mortal eyes
That see a Nation's reeking sacrifice,
Its smoke may vanish from these blackened skies!

Then, when his summons comes, since come it must,
And, looking heavenward with unfaltering trust,
He wraps his drapery round him for the dust,

His last fond glance will show him o'er his head
The Northern fires beyond the zenith spread
In lambent glory, blue and white and red—

The Southern cross without its bleeding load,
The milky way of peace all freshly strewed,
And every white-throned star fixed in its lost abode!

—*Atlantic Monthly for December.*

WILLIAM AND ELLEN CRAFTS.

[M. D. Conway, writing from London to the *Commonwealth*, gives the following account of a visit he made to William and Ellen Crafts.]

A WALK one pleasant morning last week down the Bayswater road, across a green common, then through a quiet street of the village called Hammersmith, brought me to the home of an American whom I respect as much as any now in Europe—namely, William Crafts, once a slave in Georgia, then a hunted fugitive in Massachusetts, but now a respected citizen of England, and the man who is doing more to redeem Africa from her cruel superstitions than all other forces put together. He lately came home quite suddenly from Dahomey, because the ship-load of goods that he had taken out to Africa from Liverpool had been entirely sold. The merchants of Liverpool, who sent him out with the cargo, are preparing another for him, and he will probably leave the country this week. His theory is that commerce is to destroy the abominations of Dahomey's realm. He finds the color, which was so much against him in America—he is *very* black—a leading advantage to him in Africa, and his wife, Ellen, told us naively that she was too white to go with him. I was sorry not to see him, on account of his absence in Liverpool on his business. At the gate of his house—which *belongs* to him—I saw a pretty little girl, and on entering I found his wife actively preparing his trunks for the next voyage. There were three unusually handsome boys—the oldest being about thirteen. All the children are doing well—and all have the light complexion and beauty of the mother. One is named Henry Brougham, a name they are not so well pleased with now as when they gave it to their child, some seven years ago. Mrs. Crafts showed us a number of interesting things which her husband had brought back from Africa—birds of bright plumage, a belt worn by the Amazons in war, a sword made by the Africans, some excellent specimens of African metallurgy, breastpins, etc. I could not help remembering how it was the seeing a similar collection, years ago, that inspired Clarkson with his strong faith in the improvability of the negro race. It does my heart good to see William and Ellen Crafts, after that brave flight of a thousand miles for freedom—after the dangers which environed them in Massachusetts—enjoying their own simple but charming home—under their own vine and fig-tree, none daring to molest or make them afraid.

TOBACCO AND ITS EFFECTS.

To the Editor of the Patriot.

SIR: I am one of the executive of an excellent society for the relief of disabled ministers. At a recent committee a respected minister, after due notice, brought before the meeting a special appeal in behalf of a minister who had become so broken down, mentally and corporeally, as to be quite disqualified for his ministerial duties. His case was introduced by a warm eulogy of his talent and of his success in the ministry. I had no acquaintance with him, but it had been mentioned to me that he was an example of the sad effects resulting from great addiction to the pipe or cigar, and I asked if this were a true report. It was admitted that he was a great smoker, but there evidently was no disposition to listen to the anti-tobacco question, as involving any moral delinquency. As I was not fully informed on the case in question, I made no further remark, but allowed it to proceed to a favorable issue—not, however, giving my vote.

Of the evils resulting from the abuse and (what is called) use of tobacco, I have such large evidence that I consider it a duty to dissuade young men from beginning to smoke, and when begun to abandon it forthwith lest it should gain the mastery. The long list of medical men whose names appear in connection with the Anti-Tobacco Society is clear and disinterested evidence that the habit is pernicious. If a friend offer me his snuff-box, and invite me to take a pinch, I often quote the remark made by that excellent man, Rev. Matthew Wilks, when asked if he had read Paine's "Age of Reason." He replied, "No, I do not like to try how much poison my constitution can bear."

A few years ago, on my way to Harwich, I found waiting on the platform at Colchester a minister whom I had long known and respected, with his wife. For the improvement of his health they had tried Walton without success, and were now proceeding to Lowestoft. He was a wreck as to mind and body. He recognized me, and introduced me to his wife. We entered the same carriage, and when a few sentences of courtesy had been exchanged, the wife said, "We have often been talking about you, Dr. Cooke, and I have much wished you to have seen my husband." The odor of tobacco having come strongly upon me, I said, "I perceive you are a smoker." In a somewhat whining manner, strongly contrasting with his former utterances, he replied, "Oh no, I never smoke." His excellent wife, on hearing this, said, "Is taking a vast quantity of snuff as bad as smoking?" I could only say that to a large extent it is so; and a few sentences of counsel and encouragement followed. He listened, but went on snuffing, and then said, "Dr. Cooke, I used to enjoy your company, but I shall be very glad now when you are gone." He died shortly afterwards.

Without reference to any individual case, I should have been glad, at the Committee, to have asked whether, when a man uses tobacco, or any other narcotic, to the injury of his mental faculties, of his health, disqualifying himself for usefulness, especially for the Christian ministry—whether he does not justly subject himself to the charge of committing much moral evil. To me it seems that morally there is no difference between a case of this kind and one in which the same effects are produced by excessive addiction to fermented liquors. The case of that great and good man, Robert Hall, is sometimes referred to in mitigation of censure. His was not a case in point. He was suffering from an intensely painful disease, and probably narcotics were indispensable to the preservation of his life. Such instances are dissimilar from those in which a habit commenced leads to a necessity of its own creation; hazarding much injury to the smoker, and no little annoyance to those who do not smoke.

I am, yours truly, WILLIAM COOKE.

39 Trinity Square, E. C., Oct. 5, 1864.

SCOTCH BIGOTS ON BURNS.—At a *soirée* given in Glasgow to Richard Weaver, the pugilistic preacher, who has just completed a "revival" engagement in that city, the Rev. Mr. Harvie, of the Wynd Free Church, in the course of his remarks referred to the speech which Lord Ardmillan has made in proposing the memory of Burns at the Ayrshire Society banquet, and said that he should like to know what good the productions of that poet could possibly effect among those living in the wynds and alleys of Glasgow. Weaver, who delivered an address afterwards, said, with magnificent loftiness, that he did not wish to be told of a Shakspeare of England, or a "Bobby Burns" of Scotland, but he did like to be spoken to concerning John Knox or Martin Luther. He had no desire to hear of men who cast chaff to the people; for where was the soul that had ever been blessed by the writings of a Burns or the "acts" of a Shakspeare? As for himself, he would not learn a verse of the one or quote the lines of the other.

Advertisements.

EMPIRE SHUTTLE MACHINE.

Patented February 14th, 1860.

SALESROOM, 536 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

This Machine is constructed on an entirely new principle of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable improvements, having been examined by the most profound experts, and pronounced to be SIMPLICITY and PERFECTION COMBINED.

It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the LOCK or SHUTTLE STITCH, which will NEITHER RIP nor RAVEL, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number.

Having neither CAM nor COG WHEEL, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is

EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

PRICE OF MACHINES, COMPLETE:

No. 1—Family Machine, with Hemmer complete,		$50
" 2—Small Manufact'g, with Extension Table,		70
" 3—Large " " " "		80
" 3—Large, for Leather, with rolling foot, etc.,		90

CABINETS IN EVERY VARIETY.

We want Agents for all towns in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America, where agencies are not already established, to whom a liberal discount will be given, but we make no consignments.

J. T. McARTHUR & CO., 536 Broadway, New York.

"A GOOD NUMBER."—Varieties of Human Character, illustrated.—Faces in Profile—Grades of Intelligence—Scenes in a Madhouse, with likenesses—Intellectual Culture—Woman's Sphere—Choice of Pursuits—Self Defence—To Young Men—Improvement of Idiots.

"THE PARSON'S COURTSHIP."—A Spartan Marriage—The Wife a Pruning Knife—Whom to Marry—Mixed Temperaments Best—The Wife's Appeal—The Unspoken Warning—Are Dreams Prophetic?—Omens and Portents—The Expression of Dress—Politeness—Good Advice—Don't forget your Girls—A CHRISTMAS POEM, illustrated.

THE REV. DR. POTTS, MR. F. O. C. DARLEY, DR. ISAAC WATTS, Portraits, Characters and Biographies—PHRENOLOGY, PHYSIOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, PHYSIOGNOMY, and PSYCHOLOGY—Among the Skulls, Sioux, Dacota, Seminole, Natchez, and Flat head Indians—Is Phrenology True?—What is it?—Definition of the Faculties—Physical Culture—A New Curative—Sleep—Labor, Mental and Manual—Expansion of the Lungs—Old Age—Faith—God and Man—in DECEMBER No. PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL AND LIFE ILLUSTRATED, 20 cents, or $2 a year. Newsmen have it. A new Volume begins with the next number. Now is the time to subscribe. Address—Messrs. FOWLER and WELLS, No. 389 Broadway, New York.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Fine Photographs of

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
THEODORE TILTON,
GOV. CURTIN,
JAMES AND LUCRETIA MOTT,
JOHN HUTCHINSON,
ASA HUTCHINSON, AND FAMILY,
FREDERICK DOUGLASS,

And others, from card size upwards, have recently been published by J. W. HURN, 1319 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, where duplicates of all can be obtained.

ARTIFICIAL LEGS, BY E. D. HUDSON, M.D., Clinton Hall, UP STAIRS, Astor Place, New York. Soldiers provided by commission of the Surgeon General, U. S. A. HANDS of superior quality. FEET for limbs shortened by Hip-disease a great benefaction. Dr. H. having devoted his attention and practice for fourteen years to the subject of artificial limbs, has made such improvements upon the "Palmer Patent," the right to which is his by purchase, as to render his work in this branch of surgery superior to all others. Send for descriptive pamphlets

$225. SEVEN OCTAVE $225.

ROSEWOOD PIANO-FORTES.

GROVESTEEN & CO., 499 Broadway, New York.

New, enlarged Scale Piano-Fortes, with all latest improvements. Thirty years' experience, with greatly increased facilities for manufacturing, enable them to sell for CASH at unusually low prices. These instruments received the highest award at the World's Fair, and for five successive years at the American Institute. Warranted five years. TERMS NET CASH. Call or send for descriptive circular.

THE WHEELER AND WILSON SEWING MACHINE (No. 625 Broadway, N. Y.) makes the

LOCK STITCH

and ranks highest on account of the elasticity, permanence, beauty, and general desirableness of the stitching when done, and the wide range of its application.—*Report of American Inst., N. Y.*

MUSIC AND THE ENGLISH BRANCHES.—SITUATION WANTED.—A young lady of this city, who has had experience and can furnish excellent references, would like a situation where she may give instruction in Music and the English Branches. Her address is No. 12 Cottage Place. tf.

T. B. PUGH, BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER, NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL DEALER, S. W. Cor. Sixth and Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia. Only Agent in the city for the sale of single copies of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

WM. HEACOCK

GENERAL FURNISHING UNDERTAKER,

No. 18 NORTH NINTH STREET, WEST SIDE, PHILADELPHIA.

Constantly on hand a general assortment of ready-made Coffins and every requisite for Funerals furnished on the most accommodating terms.

Lead Coffins furnished at the shortest notice.

Lots, Half Lots, and Single Graves, in all the principal Cemeteries, for sale.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for his superiority over all others in the manufacture of Travelling Trunks, Carpet Bags, Valices, Coaches, Hobby Horses, and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks of all descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship. Black Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.

THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer,
402 Market st., one door above 4th, South side, Phila.

BUFFALO ROBES direct from the Indian country 5,000 robes for sale, wholesale or retail, at very low prices. Also, Horse Blankets cheap and good. THOS. W. MATTSON.
402 Market st., 1st door above 4th St.

SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 72 N. Fourth street (2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail stationery blank books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual prices English, French and American cap, letter and note papers, envelope, sealing wax, plain and fancy wafers of every descriptions, very superior gold and steel pens, ink and inkstands, sand-boxes, wafer cups paper weights, plain and fancy penholders, drawing pencils and books, Bristol board, tracing paper, impression paper, tissue paper, visiting and wedding cards, pocket books, portfolios, bankers' cases, diaries, &c.; envelopes at 10 cents per 100 and 90 cents per 1000, mercantile firms, insurance companies, banks, &c., furnished with blank books to order, of the best materials and workmanship.

FRIENDS' MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES (a new Plate).

CLOTHIER & PEDRICK,
72 N. Fourth street, below Arch street.

PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.—Fine Photographs, 18 by 13 inches, of Paine's Pen-and-Ink Drawing of the Emancipation proclamation, handsomely illustrated. The original was donated to the Brooklyn Sanitary Fair, and by a subscription of $500 presented to the President of the United States. It is a beautiful and artistic work.

Single copies sent by mail prepaid on receipt of $3. Canvassers wanted for every section of the country.

Copy-right secured apply to ROWLAND JOHNSON,
54 Beaver st., New York, 119 Market st., Phila.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business Every one his own Salesman.

JONES & CO., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 604 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with a full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price. Remember the Crescent, in Market, above 6th No. 604 Phila.

JONES & CO.